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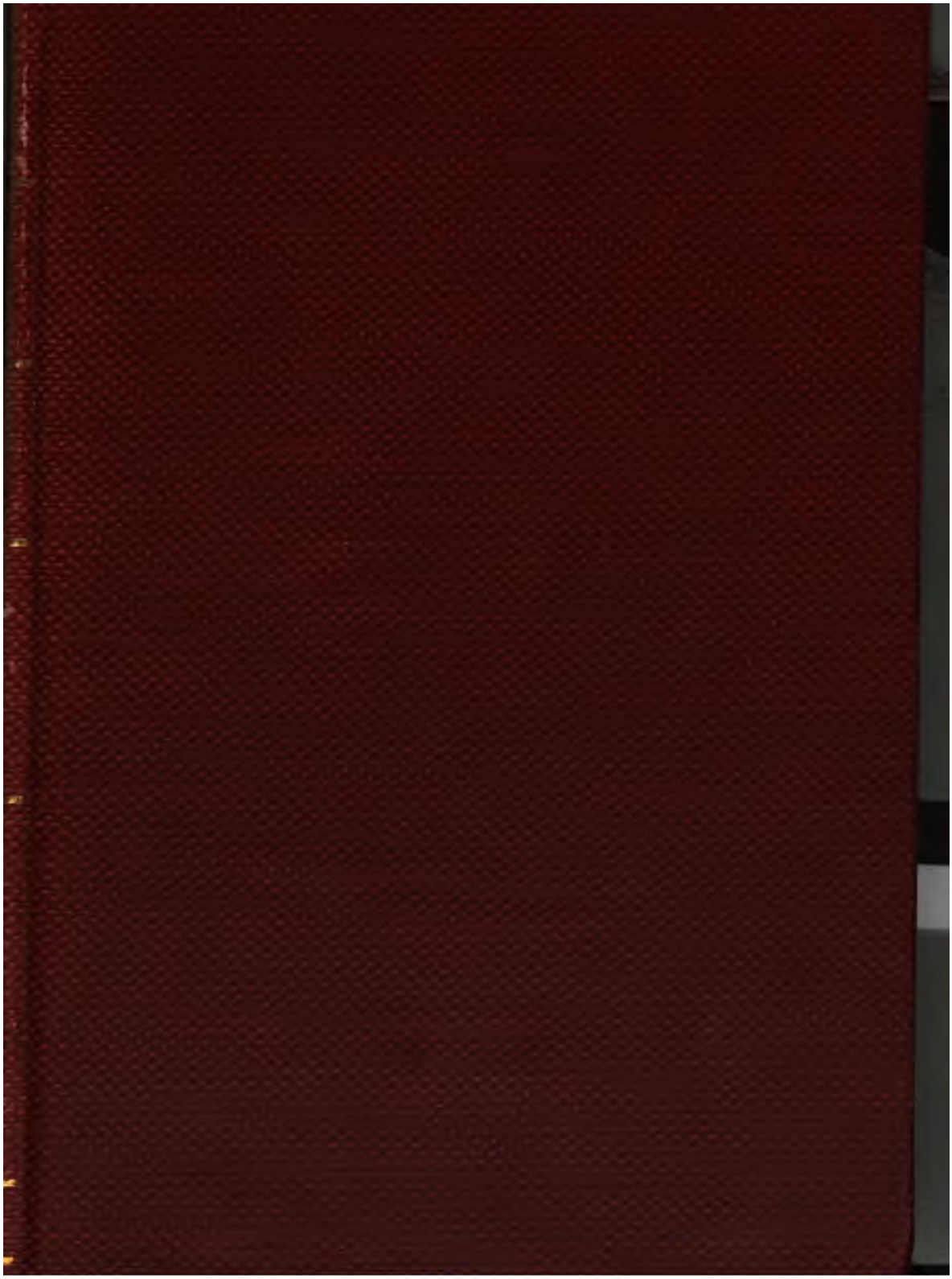

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VOLUME XXIX

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VOLTAIRE

ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

VOL. VI

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ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY.

CHAPTER CLII.

ENGLAND, UNDER CHARLES II.

THE second protector, Richard Cromwell, not having the talents of the first, could not have the same fortune. His sceptre was not supported by the sword; and as he wanted the resolution and dissimulation of Oliver, he knew not either how to make himself feared by the army, nor how to manage the different sects and parties which divided the nation.

Richard, finding himself treated with contempt and even insolence by his father's military council, thought to secure his authority by convoking a parliament, consisting of two houses; one of which was formed by the principal officers, representing the peers, and the other of deputies from the counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, representing the three kingdoms; but the leaders of the army soon obliged him to dissolve this parliament, and of their own authority restored that parliament which

had brought King Charles I. to the scaffold, and which Oliver afterward so disgracefully dismissed. This parliament, which, as well as the army, was entirely independent, would have neither king nor protector. At its first meeting, the general council of officers presented an address to this assembly of their own making, petitioning, that all cavaliers should be forever excluded from their employs, and that the office of protector might be taken from Richard Cromwell, whom they, however, treated with great marks of respect, requiring a pension of twenty thousand pounds sterling to be settled upon him, and eight thousand upon his mother; but the parliament only granted him two thousand pounds,[1] and sent him an order to leave Whitehall in six days, which he obeyed without murmuring, and ever afterward led a private life. At that time the names of peers and bishops seemed wholly forgotten. Charles II. appeared abandoned by all the world, as well as Richard Cromwell; and it was thought by all the courts of Europe, that the English commonwealth was firmly established. However, the regal dignity was at length restored by an officer of Cromwell's, called Monk, who commanded the army which had conquered Scotland. The English parliament having formed a design to cashier the officers of that army, Monk, being apprised of their intention, marched directly to England, to try his fortune.

[1] This is a mistake; they granted him twenty thousand pounds to pay his debts.

The three kingdoms were at that time in a general state of anarchy. Monk had left part of his army in Scotland, but this was not sufficient to keep that nation in subjection. The other part, which marched under his command into England, had the parliament's forces to encounter. The parliament itself, which was equally apprehensive of either army, endeavored, if possible, to make itself master of both. Here was sufficient cause for renewing all the horror of the civil wars.

Monk, finding himself not sufficiently powerful to succeed to the protectorship, determined to restore the royal family; and instead of shedding blood, he found means to perplex affairs in such a manner by his negotiations, and increased the confusion in the kingdom to such a degree, that the nation of itself began to wish for a king. In a word, the restoration was effected without the least bloodshed. Lambert, one of Cromwell's generals, and a most zealous republican, in vain attempted to renew the war; he was prevented before he could assemble a sufficient number of his veterans, and was defeated and taken prisoner by Monk. A new parliament was now called. The peers, who had so long remained an idle and useless body, now returned to the house, and resumed their functions in the state. Both houses acknowledged Charles II. as their lawful sovereign, and he was accordingly proclaimed king in London, on May 8, 1660.

Charles II. thus invited to England, without hav-

ing in the least contributed to this restoration by any means of his own, and without having been restricted by any conditions, departed from Breda, the place of his retirement, and arrived in England amidst the shouts and acclamations of all the people; in a word, it hardly seemed that there had ever been a civil war.

The parliament ordered the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, his son-in-law, and Bradshaw, president of the high court of justice, to be dug out of their graves, and dragged through the streets on a sledge to the gallows. Of all those concerned in the bloody trial of Charles I. who were yet living, ten only were executed. All suffered without the least signs of repentance, refusing to acknowledge the king's authority, and returning God thanks, who had chosen them to die "for the most glorious and just of all causes." These were most of them either of the obstinate sect of independents, or else Anabaptists, who looked for the second coming of Christ, and the establishment of the fifth monarchy.

There were only nine bishops living at that time in England: the king soon completed the number. The ancient order and discipline was restored both in Church and State, and a round of magnificence and pleasures succeeded the gloomy ferocity which had so long taken possession of all minds. Charles introduced an excess of gallantry and diversions into the palace, yet stained with the blood of his father. The independents were no longer heard of. The

Puritans hid themselves. The spirit of the English nation underwent so total a change, that the late civil war became a subject of ridicule. The austere and gloomy sectaries, who had filled the kingdom with their enthusiastic notions, were now the butts of raillery to the gay and licentious courtiers. Deism, which the king himself seemed openly to profess, became the reigning religion among the many others then in the kingdom.

The Royal Society, which had been already formed, but was not established by the king's letters patent till 1661, began to soften the manners, by improving the understanding. The belles-lettres were revived, and made daily advances toward perfection. In Cromwell's time all the learning in the nation was confined to the application of a few passages of the Old and New Testaments, to feed the flame of public animosities, and screen the purposes of the blackest revolutions. But now the study of nature and her works was encouraged, and the plan of the famous Chancellor Bacon was closely pursued. The science of mathematics was in a short time carried to a degree of perfection that had never entered into the imagination of former adepts. A great man at length investigated the first principles of the general system of the universe, which till then had remained hidden; and while the other nations amused themselves with idle fables, the English found out the most sublime truths. All that the inquiries of past ages had effected in natural phi-

losophy was nothing in comparison with that one discovery of the nature of light. In the space of twenty years, the arts and sciences made the most amazing progress; this is a merit and a glory which will never pass away. The fruits of genius and industry are permanent, while the effects of ambition, fanaticism, and reigning passions, are swallowed up in the times which produced them. The spirit of the nation acquired immortal reputation under the reign of Charles II. though the administration did not.

The French spirit, which reigned at court, rendered it agreeable and brilliant; but by introducing a change in the manners, it subjected it to the designs of Louis XIV., and the English government, which was wholly biassed by French money and French councils, made the thinking part of the people regret at times the days of Cromwell, who had rendered his nation so respectable in the eyes of all Europe.

The parliaments of England and Scotland, after the king's restoration, vied with each other in giving him all the marks of condescension in their power, by way of reparation for the murder of his father. The English parliament in particular, in whose breast it chiefly lay to make him a powerful prince, granted a revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling, for the support of his dignity and administration; exclusive of the sum destined for the support of the navy, which far exceeded any-

thing that had been granted to Queen Elizabeth. Nevertheless, Charles's prodigality made him always in want; and the nation never forgave him the sale of Dunkirk, which Cromwell had acquired for the kingdom by his negotiations and arms, and which Charles parted with for the sum of two hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling.

The war which he engaged in against the Dutch at the beginning of his reign, proved not only very burdensome, as it cost the nation upward of seven and a half millions sterling, but it was likewise dishonorable; for Admiral de Ruyter sailed up as far as Chatham, and burned all the English ships lying in that harbor.

These miscarriages were intermixed with most terrible calamities. In 1666, London was ravaged by a plague, and the city almost entirely destroyed by a dreadful fire. This calamity following upon a plague, and in the height of an unsuccessful war with the Dutch, seemed almost irreparable. Nevertheless, to the astonishment of all Europe, London was rebuilt in three years, and arose more beautiful, regular, and commodious than it had been before. A tax upon coal, and the unwearied industry of the citizens, proved alone sufficient to effect this immense work. This was a mighty example of what mankind are capable of doing, and gave a degree of authenticity to the reports of the ancient cities in Asia and Egypt, which were so quickly rebuilt.

Not all these accidents, these mighty labors, the

war of 1672 against the Dutch, nor the cabals with which the court and parliament were filled, made any diminution in the pleasures and gallantry which Charles had brought with him into England, and which were the productions of the French climate, where he had resided for several years. A French mistress, French manners, and, above all, French money lorded it at court. Though all things underwent such a change in England, the love of liberty did not change among the people, nor that passion for absolute power which prevailed in the king and his brother, who succeeded him. This proved the source of numberless intrigues and plots, which embittered the general taste for pleasure, and clouded the festivities of the court with sundry executions. Zeal for religion or enthusiastic fury had no share in the effort made by Lord Shaftesbury and several other persons of distinction, to exclude the duke of York from the succession. Lord Shaftesbury was a declared deist. The duke of York was charged with being a Papist; but it was only the arbitrary Papist they stood in fear of.

Charles II. seems to have been the first king of England who bought the votes of the members of parliament by private pensions, at least in a country where there is hardly anything secret. This method was never publicly carried on; we have no proof that any of his predecessors had fallen on this way to shorten difficulties and prevent opposition.

The second parliament, which assembled in 1679,

began by impeaching eighteen members of the house of commons of the preceding parliament, which had sat eighteen years. They were accused of having accepted pensions; but as there was no law which prohibited the receiving of gratuities from the sovereign, they could not do anything against them.

This new system of politics adopted by the court did not prevent the house of commons from voting unanimously, that the duke of York, as being a professed Papist, should be excluded from the crown, in like manner as the Catholic leaguers in France had pretended to exclude Henry IV. The duke of Monmouth, son of Charles II. attempted to play the same part as the duke of Guise, by which he afterward brought his own head to the block; and the same motives which had engaged the Whigs to exclude the duke of York from the throne urged them to drive him thence, after he had ascended it. However, Charles, finding that that house which had deposed and murdered his father now wanted to disinherit his brother in his lifetime; and justly apprehensive of the consequences of such a design in regard to himself, dissolved the parliament, and never called another during his reign.

Everything was restored to quiet in 1681, the instant the royal authority and the privilege of parliament ceased to oppose each other. The king was now forced to live with economy upon his revenue and a pension of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, which was paid him by Louis XIV. He

kept only four thousand soldiers in pay, and he was reproached for keeping this small guard as if it had been a powerful standing army. Before him the kings of England were wont to have only one hundred men for their ordinary guard.

At that time there were only two opposite factions in the kingdom; the Tories, who possessed a blind submission to the royal authority, and the Whigs, who defended the rights of the people, and were for restricting the sovereign power. The latter has almost always had the superiority.

But what has established the power of the English nation is, that all the different parties since the time of Elizabeth have unanimously concurred in encouraging trade. That very parliament which cut off the head of its king, was employed in settling maritime affairs, as if it had been a time of profound peace. The blood of this murdered prince was yet smoking upon the scaffold, when this parliament, which was almost entirely composed of fanatics, passed the famous act of navigation, in 1650, which has been falsely attributed to Cromwell, and in which he had no other concern than being highly displeased with it; because this act, which was very prejudicial to the interest of Holland, proved one of the causes of the war between England and that republic; and as the operations of this war would be chiefly by sea, the great expense of the navy might oblige the parliament to lessen the army, of which Cromwell was general. This act has always

continued in force. The chief advantage the nation derived from this act was that it prohibited all nations from importing any merchandise into England but what was the produce of the country to which the ships belonged.

As early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth the English had an India Company, prior to that of the Dutch, and there was also a new one established afterward in King William's reign. From 1597 till 1612, the English had the sole possession of the whale fishery; but their greatest riches lay in their flocks. At first they knew only how to sell their wool; but since Elizabeth's time they have manufactured the finest cloths in Europe. Agriculture, which was for a long time neglected, is now better than the mines of Peru to them. The culture of lands was chiefly encouraged by the act of parliament in 1689, for the exportation of grain; and since that time the government has always allowed a bounty of five shillings for every measure of wheat exported to foreign markets, when such measure, which contains twenty-four of our Paris bushels, shall not be worth more than two livres eight sous sterling in London. The exportation of all other kinds of grain has been encouraged in like proportion; and not long since it was proved in parliament that the exportation of grain brought the kingdom in four years the sum of one hundred and seventy millions three hundred and thirty thousand French livres.

England had not all these great resources in the time of Charles II.: it was still indebted to the industry of France, to whom it paid over eight millions every year upon the balance of trade. The English had no manufactories for cloth, plate glass, copper, brass, steel, paper, or even hats. It was to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes that they were indebted for almost all these new and important branches of trade.

By this single circumstance we may judge how right the flatterers of Louis XIV. were in praising him for thus depriving France of so many useful subjects. Accordingly in 1687, the English government, sensible of the advantage it should gain by granting an asylum and support to the French artificers, made a collection for them amounting to fifteen hundred thousand francs, and maintained thirteen thousand of these new subjects in the city of London for one whole year.

This attention to commerce in a warlike nation has in the end enabled it to pay subsidies to half of Europe against the French; and within our knowledge its credit has increased to such a degree without any augmentation in its funds, that the government debt to private persons has in some years amounted to more than seventy millions of our money. This is precisely the situation of the kingdom of France at present, where the government owes nearly the same yearly sum in the king's name to the annuitants and purchasers of public employs.

This expedient, which is unknown to many other nations, especially to the Asiatics, is the melancholy fruit of our wars, and the last effort of political industry.

CHAPTER CLIII.

ITALY, AND ESPECIALLY ROME, AT THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY — THE COUNCIL OF TRENT — THE CORRECTION OF THE CALENDAR, ETC.

WHILE France and Germany, almost subverted at the end of the sixteenth, and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, lay languishing without trade, deprived of arts and police, and plunged in anarchy; the Italians in general began to taste the sweets of repose, and vied with each other in cultivating the liberal arts, which were either unknown to other nations, or practised by them in a rude manner. Naples and Sicily were free from revolutions, and wholly undisturbed. When Pope Paul IV., at the instigation of his nephews, undertook to deprive Philip II. of these two kingdoms, by the arms of the French king, Henry II., he pretended to make them over to the duke of Anjou, afterward Henry III., in consideration of the payment of twenty thousand gold ducats a year instead of the former annual tribute of six thousand, and on the special condition that his nephew should enjoy certain large and independent principalities in those kingdoms.

This was at that time the only tributary kingdom

in the world. It was pretended that the court of Rome determined it should be no longer so, and proposed to annex it to the papal see, which would have given the popes such a degree of weight and authority, as would have made them masters of the balance of power in Italy: but it was impossible that Pope Paul IV., or all Italy together, could take Naples from Philip II., and afterward from the king of France, and thus strip the two most powerful monarchs of Christendom. This was only an unhappy rash project of Pope Paul, who was insulted at his first setting out by the famous duke of Alva, at that time viceroy of Naples, who ordered all the bells and other brass work in Benevento, which belonged to the holy see, to be melted down and cast into cannon. This war was finished almost as soon as it was begun. The duke of Alva flattered himself with the hope of taking Rome, as Charles V. had done; but at the end of a few months he went thither to kiss the pontiff's feet, restored the bells of Benevento, and all was quiet.

In 1560, a shocking scene was exhibited after the death of Pope Paul IV., by the condemnation of his two nephews, the prince of Palliano, and Cardinal Caraffa; and the sacred college could not, without horror, behold the death of this cardinal, who was strangled by the orders of Pope Pius IV., as Cardinal Poli had been by those of Leo X.; but one act of cruelty does not make a cruel reign, and the Roman nation was not oppressed.

The Council of Trent closed in 1563, under the pontificate of Pius IV., in a peaceable manner, without having produced any new effects either among the Catholics, who held all the articles of faith taught by that council, nor among the Protestants, who rejected them: it made no change in the customs of those Catholic nations who adopted certain rules of discipline different from those of the council. France in particular retained what are called the liberties of the Gallican Church, which are in effect the liberties of the nation. Twenty-four articles of this council, which were repugnant to the rights of the civil jurisdiction, were never admitted in that kingdom: by these articles the superintendence of all hospitals was vested in the bishops only. The pope alone was to give sentence in criminal causes on the bishops, and the laity were in several cases made subject to the episcopal jurisdiction. These were the reasons why the French governments rejected the discipline established by the council. The kings of Spain received it into their dominions with the greatest respect, but at the same time with considerable private modification. Venice followed the example of Spain. The Roman Catholics of Germany insisted upon the use of the consecrated cup, and that priests should be allowed to marry. Pope Pius IV., by his briefs to the emperor, Maximilian II., and the archbishop of Mentz, allowed communicating in both ways; but remained inflexible in the article of the marriage of the priests. The

"History of the Popes" gives us for a reason that Pius, having gotten rid of the council, had nothing more to fear; hence it came, adds the writer of this history, that this pope, who made no scruple of violating all laws, divine and human, was so strict with regard to celibacy. It is very false to say that Pius IV. violated all laws, divine and human; and it is very evident that by preserving the ancient discipline of sacerdotal celibacy, which had been so long established in the West, he acted in conformity with an opinion which had become a law in that Church.

All the other customs of church discipline peculiar to Germany remained on their original foundation. The disputes prejudicial to the secular power no longer raised those wars they had formerly done; there were still some few difficulties, some intricate points between the Church of Rome and the Roman Catholic states; but these little disputes did not cost any bloodshed. The interdict which Pope Paul V. laid upon the republic of Venice was the only quarrel of moment which happened afterward. The religious wars in France and Germany found them other employments; and the court of Rome usually kept fair with the Roman Catholic princes, for fear they should turn Protestant; but wretched was the fate of those weak princes who had such a powerful monarch as Philip to oppose, who was master in the conclave.

Italy was deficient in respect to general police;

this was its real scourge. Surrounded by the arts, and in the very bosom of peace, it had been a long time infested with public robbers, like ancient Greece in the more barbarous times. Whole troops of armed banditti marauded from one province to another, from the frontiers of Milan to the farther end of the kingdom of Naples, either purchasing the protection of the petty princes, or obliging them to wink at their rapines. The papal see could not clear its dominions of them, till the time of Sixtus V., and even after his pontificate they appeared sometimes. The example of these freebooters encouraged private persons to put in practice the shocking custom of assassination: the use of the stiletto was but too common in towns, while the country was overrun by banditti. The students of Padua used to knock people on the heads as they were passing under the piazzas, which ran along each side of the street.

Notwithstanding these disorders, which were but too common, Italy was the most flourishing country in Europe, if it was not the most powerful. Those foreign wars were no longer heard of which had filled it with desolation after the reign of Charles VIII., nor the intestine commotions which had armed principality against principality, and town against town; nor those conspiracies which had formerly been so frequent. Naples, Venice, Rome, and Florence, attracted the admiration of foreigners, by their magnificence and encourage-

ment of all the arts. The more refined pleasures were truly known only to this climate, and religion presented itself to the people under that specious dress which is so necessary for nice imaginations. Italy alone abounded with temples worthy of the ancient grandeur, and they were all surpassed by St. Peter's at Rome.

If superstitious ceremonies, false traditions, and feigned miracles still prevailed among these people, the wise despised them, who well knew that errors have in all times been the amusement of the vulgar. Perhaps our northern writers, who have exclaimed so violently against these erroneous customs, have not rightly distinguished between the people and those by whom they are led. Certainly no one would entertain a contemptible idea of the ancient Roman senate, because the temples of Æsculapius were lined with the offerings of those whom nature cured of their maladies; because a thousand votive tablets of travellers escaped from shipwreck adorned or rather disfigured the altars of the god Neptune; and that in Egnatia the incense burnt and smoked of its own accord on the holy stone. Many a Protestant, after having tasted the delights of a residence at Naples, has, at his return, exhausted himself in invectives against the three miracles which are performed on certain appointed days in that city, when the blood of St. Januarius, St. John the Baptist, and St. Stephen, which is kept in bottles, liquefies on approaching the heads of these saints.

They accuse the chiefs of those churches with ascribing these idle miracles to the Deity. The wise and prudent Addison says that he never saw "a more blundering trick." All these writers might have observed that these institutions have no bad effects upon the morals of the people, which should be the principal concern of every government, civil and ecclesiastical; that in all probability the warm imaginations of the natives of those hot climates stand in need of visible signs to convince them that they are continually under the immediate hand of Providence; and lastly, they should consider that these signs cannot be laid aside till they have fallen into contempt with those who now hold them in so much reverence.

To Pope Pius IV. succeeded the Dominican, Gisleri, who took the name of Pius V. and was so hated even in Rome itself for the rigorous manner in which he enforced the exercise of the inquisitorial jurisdiction, which was in all other places so strenuously opposed by the secular courts. The famous bull in *Cœna Domini,* that first appeared under Pope Paul III. and was afterward published by Pius V., and in which the prerogative of crowned heads was insulted, disgusted every court, and was much censured by the universities.

The extinction of the order of the Humiliati was one of the principal events of his pontificate. The monks of this order, which was chiefly established in the duchy of Milan, led very scandalous lives,

St. Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, endeavored, in 1471, to work a reformation in them, upon which four of them entered into a conspiracy against his life; one of them fired upon him with a musket as he was at prayers in his own house, but wounded him only slightly. The good man interceded with the pope in their behalf; but his holiness punished their crime with death, and abolished the whole order.

Pius V. immortalized his memory by his vigorous defence of Christianity against the Turks. His greatest eulogium was made in Constantinople itself, where they ordered public rejoicings on account of his death.

Gregory XIII., of the family of Buoncampagno, succeeded Pius V., and rendered his name famous to posterity by the correction of the calendar, which is called after him; in which he imitated Julius Cæsar. The continual need there was of correcting the year in all nations shows the slow progress of the useful arts. Mankind had found the way to ravage the world from one end to the other before they knew how to compute time or regulate their days. The ancient Romans had only ten lunar months at first, and their year consisted of no more than three hundred and four days, and afterward of three hundred and fifty-five. The attempts to remedy this false computation were so many errors. All the high priests, from the time of Numa Pompilius, were the astronomers of their nation, as they

were also among the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Persians, and almost all the Asiatics. Their knowledge of time rendered them more venerable to the people; for nothing gives a greater degree of authority than the knowledge of useful things which are unknown to the vulgar.

As the pontifical dignity among the Romans was always vested in a senator, Julius Cæsar, in quality of high priest, corrected the calendar so far as he was able; in which he had recourse to the assistance of Sosigenes, a Greek mathematician of Alexandria, which city had been made the centre of sciences and commerce by Alexander the Great: it was the most famous school for the mathematics in those times; and thence the Egyptians, and even the Hebrews themselves, had learned a great part of their useful knowledge. The Egyptians knew before how to raise enormous masses of stone; but the Greeks taught them all the polite arts, or rather practised them among them without ever being able to produce imitators. In fact, we do not find any one person of this slavish and effeminate nation distinguished for the Grecian arts.

The Christian pontiffs had the regulating of the year as well as the pontiffs of ancient Rome, because it was their province to fix the time for observing the festivals. The first Council of Nice, held in 325, observing the confusion introduced by time into the Julian calendar, consulted, as Cæsar had done, the Greeks of Alexandria, who returned for answer

that the vernal or spring equinox happened in that year on the twenty-first day of March; the fathers then regulated the time for celebrating the feast of Easter according to that principle.

Two very slight mistakes in Cæsar's computation, and in that of the astronomers consulted by this council, increased considerably in a number of ages. The first of these mistakes happens from the famous golden number of Meton the Athenian, which allows nineteen years for the revolution which the moon makes in returning to the same point in the heavens: there wanted only an hour and a half, an error almost imperceptible in one century, but which in a succession of ages became very considerable. The same may happen with regard to the sun's apparent course, and the points which determine the equinox and solstices. The vernal or spring equinox, which at the time of the Council of Nice happened on the twenty-first day of March, had gained an advance of ten days, and happened the eleventh of the same month. This precession of the equinoxes, the cause of which was unknown to all the ancients, and was not discovered till of late years, is occasioned by a particular motion in the earth, which motion is completed in the space of twenty-five thousand nine hundred years, and occasions the equinoxes and solstices to pass successively through all the points of the zodiac. This motion is the effect of gravity, of which Newton alone has discovered and calculated the phenomena, which

seemed beyond the reach of human understanding. In the time of Gregory XIII. they never troubled themselves about guessing at the cause of this precession of the equinoxes; the question was to remedy the error which began to make a sensible confusion in the civil year. Gregory on this occasion consulted all the famous astronomers of Europe. A physician named Lilio, a native of Rome, had the honor of furnishing the most simple and easy method for restoring the order of the year, such as we now see it in the new calendar. It was only to take ten days from that year (1582), and by this easy precaution to prevent any disorder in the ages to come. This Lilio has since been forgotten, and the calendar bears the name of Pope Gregory, just as Sosigenes's name was lost in that of Cæsar. It was not thus among the ancient Greeks: with them every artist enjoyed the honor of his own invention.

It is, however, to the honor of Gregory that he was indefatigable in establishing this necessary correction; for he met with more difficulty in getting it received in other nations than in having it settled by the mathematicians. France held out for some months; till at last upon an edict issued by Henry III., and registered by the Parliament of Paris, they began to reckon as they should. But Maximilian II. could not persuade the Diet of Augsburg that the equinox was advanced ten days. It was feared that the court of Rome, in taking upon itself to instruct other nations, would pretend to a

right of governing them. Thus the old calendar continued to be used for some time even by the Catholic states of Germany. The Protestants of all communions have obstinately refused to admit a truth coming from the pope, which should have been embraced, even had it been proposed by the Turks.

The latter part of Gregory XIII.'s pontificate was rendered famous by the embassy of submission which he received from Japan. Rome extended its spiritual conquests to the farther end of the globe, while it suffered losses at home. Three kings or princes of Japan, which was at that time divided into several sovereignties, sent each one of their nearest relatives to compliment Philip II., king of Spain, as the most powerful of all Christian kings, and the pope as the father of all kings. The letters written by the princes to the pope all began with an act of adoration. The first, which was from the king of Bungo, began: "To the adorable, who holds the place of the king of heaven upon earth;" and ended with these words: "I address your holiness with reverence and awe, whom I adore, and whose most holy feet I kiss." The other two were nearly in the same style. Spain at that time hoped that Japan would become one of its provinces; and the holy see already beheld one-third of that vast empire subject to its ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The people of Rome would have been very happy under Gregory's government had not the public tranquillity been troubled by banditti. He abolished

some grievous imposts, and did not dismember the state to provide for his bastard, as some of his predecessors had done.

CHAPTER CLIV.

POPE SIXTUS V.

THE pontificate of Sixtus V. is more famous in history than those of Gregory XIII. and Pius V., though these two pontiffs performed greater things; the one having signalized himself by the battle of Lepanto, of which he was the principal cause, and the other by his correction of time.

It sometimes happens that one man, by his character and the singularity of his elevation, shall attract the regard of posterity more than others by the most memorable actions. The great disproportion which appeared between the birth of Sixtus V., who was the son of a poor day-laborer, and his elevation to the supreme pontificate, adds a double lustre to his reputation; however, we have already observed that meanness or obscurity of birth was never looked upon as an obstacle to this dignity by a religion and a court where merit is entitled to employments of every rank, notwithstanding that they may sometimes be the rewards of intrigue and cabal. Pius V. was of mean origin; Adrian VI. was the son of an artificer; Nicholas V. was obscurely born; the father of the famous John XXII., who added a third circle to the tiara, and

wore three crowns without possessing a foot of land, was a cobbler at Cahors; as was likewise the father of Pope Urban. Adrian IV., one of the greatest of the pontiffs, was the son of a beggar, and followed that profession himself. The history of the Church is filled with instances of this nature, to the encouragement of private virtue and the confusion of human pride. Those who have endeavored to exalt the birth of Sixtus V. do not consider that in so doing they lessen his personal merit, by taking from him the praise of having overcome the first obstacles. There is a greater distance between a swineherd, which he was in his childhood, and the lowest places he held in his orders, than between that place and the papal throne. Memoirs of his life have been composed at Rome from journals, which furnish little more than dates, and from panegyrics, which inform us of nothing at all. The Cordelier who has written the life of Sixtus V. begins by saying that he has "the honor to treat of the noblest, best, and greatest of all pontiffs, princes, and philosophers, the glorious and immortal Sixtus:" and by this very beginning destroys all credit in himself.

The spirit of Sixtus V. and of his reign is the essential part of his history: what particularly distinguishes him from other popes is, that he never acted in any respect like others. His behaving in the most haughty, and even oppressive manner, while he was a private monk; the subduing of the heat of

his temper, as soon as he was made a cardinal; the appearing for the space of fifteen years incapable of all kind of public business, especially that of commanding as a superior, in order to determine one day in his favor the suffrages of all those who thought to govern under his name; the resuming of all his pride the instant he ascended the throne; the unheard-of severity he exercised in his pontificate, and the nobleness of his undertakings; the embellishing of the city of Rome, and his leaving the Roman treasury immensely rich at his decease; the disbanding of the troops, and even of the body-guards of his predecessors, and the dispersing of the numerous banditti, by the sole power of his laws; and his making himself feared by everyone, by his place and character, were actions that made his name illustrious, even among the illustrious ones of Henry IV. and Elizabeth, his contemporaries. Other sovereigns at that time ran the hazard of losing their thrones, by engaging in any undertaking without the assistance of the numerous armies which they afterward kept on foot. It was not thus with the sovereigns of Rome, who, by uniting the priestly with the kingly dignity, did not even stand in need of a guard.

Sixtus V. gained a great reputation by the improvements he made in the buildings and police of the city of Rome; Henry IV. had done the same in that of Paris; but this was the least of Henry's merits, whereas it was the principal one of Sixtus

V., and we find that this pope executed greater things in this way than the French monarch. He ruled over a peaceable, and at that time a very industrious people; he found amidst the ruins, and in the example, of ancient Rome, and also in the labors of his predecessors, everything he could wish to further his great designs.

In the time of the Roman Cæsars, fourteen immense aqueducts, supported upon arches, conveyed whole rivers to Venice, for the length of several miles, and supplied a hundred and fifty fountains and one hundred and eighteen public baths in that city with water, besides what went to form those artificial seas, on which they represented naval combats. A hundred thousand statues adorned the public squares, highways, temples, and houses. Ninety-six colossuses all raised on porticos, and forty-eight obelisks of granite, cut in the quarries of Upper Egypt, filled the beholder with amazement, and puzzled the imagination to conceive how such immense masses could have been transported from the tropics to the banks of the Tiber. There remained a few of these aqueducts to be restored by the popes; some obelisks to raise, which were buried under ruins, and some statues to dig up.

Sixtus V. restored the fountain of Martia, whose spring is near ancient Præneste, twenty miles distant from Rome, and brought it over an aqueduct thirteen thousand paces in length, for which it was necessary to raise arches upon a road seven miles

long. This, which would have been a trifling work for the Roman Empire, was a great deal for modern Rome in its poor and circumscribed state.

By his care five of the ancient obelisks were raised. The name of the architect, Fontana, who raised them, is still famous at Rome; while the artists who cut them, and those who transported them to so great a distance, are no longer known. We read in some travellers, and in a hundred writers who have copied after them, that when the Vatican obelisk was being raised on its pedestal, the ropes used for that purpose were found too short, upon which, notwithstanding that it had been expressly prohibited, under pain of death, for anyone to speak during the operation, one of the common people cried out, "Wet the ropes." These idle tales, which make history ridiculous, are the effects of ignorance. The capstans which they made use of on this occasion left no room for having recourse to so trifling an assistance.

The work which gave modern Rome some degree of superiority over the ancient, was the cupola of St. Peter's church. There were but three monuments of this kind remaining in the world: part of the dome of the temple of Minerva at Athens, that of the Pantheon at Rome, and of the great mosque at Constantinople, formerly the church of St. Sophia, built by Justinian: but these domes, though sufficiently lofty within, were too flat and low on the outside. Bruneleschi, who restored architecture

in Italy, in the fourteenth century, had, by an effort of art, remedied this defect in the cathedral of Florence, by raising two cupolas one upon the other: but these cupolas had still something of the Gothic in them, and wanted the grand proportions. Michelangelo Buonarroti, who was a painter, sculptor, and architect, and equally great in all three branches, had, as early as the pontificate of Julius II., given the designs of the two domes of St. Peter's; and Sixtus V. caused this work, which exceeds all of its kind, to be built in the space of twenty-two months.

The library, which was first set on foot by Pope Nicholas V., was so considerably augmented by Sixtus, that he might very well pass for the true founder. The immense building which contains the books, is itself a beautiful monument. There was not at that time the equal of this library in Europe, either for the largeness or curiosity of the collection; but the city of Paris has greatly excelled Rome in this respect; and though the king's library at Paris is not to be compared to the Vatican, in regard to the architecture, there is a much greater number of books; they are disposed in better order, and strangers can much more easily have the reading of them.

It was the misfortune of Sixtus V. and his dominions, that he impoverished his subjects by all these great foundations, whereas Henry IV. eased his of their load. Both of them left nearly the same sum

in ready money in the public treasury at their deaths; for although Henry IV. had forty millions in reserve, which he could dispose of as he pleased, there was not above twenty in the vaults of the Bastille; whereas the five millions of gold crowns deposited by Sixtus V. in the castle of St. Angelo, amounted to very nearly twenty millions of our livres at that time. Such a sum could not be taken out of the circulation, in a state almost wholly void of manufactures and commerce, such as Rome is, without impoverishing the inhabitants: and to amass this treasure, and supply all other expenses, Sixtus was obliged to give a greater latitude to the sale of public employs, than either Sixtus IV. or Julius II. Leo X. began this practice; Sixtus aggravated the burden. He raised annuities at eight, nine, and ten per cent., for the payment of which an addition was made to the taxes. The people forgot that he was embellishing Rome, and only felt that he was impoverishing them; so that this pontiff was more hated than he was admired.

We should always consider the popes in two points of view: as sovereigns of a State, and as the heads of the Church. Sixtus V. in quality of chief pontiff, wanted to revive the times of Gregory VII. He declared Henry IV., at that time king of Navarre, incapable of succeeding to the crown of France. He deprived Queen Elizabeth of her kingdoms by a bull, and, had Philip's Invincible Armada landed in England, the bull might have been carried into

execution. The manner in which he behaved toward Henry III., after the murder of the duke of Guise, and the cardinal, his brother, was not quite so violent. He contented himself with only declaring him excommunicated, unless he did penance for those two murders. This was imitating St. Ambrose, and acting like Adrian IV., who required Henry II. of England to do public penance for the murder of Becket, afterward canonized under the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The French king, Henry III., had just caused two princes to be murdered in his own palace; they were dangerous subjects indeed, but they had not been allowed a trial; and it would even have been a very difficult matter to have them regularly convicted of any absolute crime. They were the leaders of a fatal league, but a league which the king himself had signed. All the circumstances of this twofold assassination were truly horrible; and without entering upon such excuses as might be alleged from the politics and unhappy situation of affairs in those times, the safety of humankind seemed to require that a curb should be put to such violences. Sixtus lost the fruit of his austere and inflexible behavior, by supporting only the rights of the triple crown and the sacred college, and not those of humanity; and by not censuring the murder of the duke of Guise so strongly as that of the cardinal; by insisting only on the pretended immunity of the Church, and the right claimed by the popes of try-

ing the cardinals; by ordering the king of France to release the cardinal of Bourbon and the archbishop of Lyons, whom he detained in prison from the strongest reasons of state; and lastly, by commanding him to repair within sixty days to Rome, to expiate his offence. It is undoubtedly true, that Sixtus, as head of all Christians, might say to a Christian prince, "Clear yourself before God of this twofold homicide;" but he had not power to say to him, "It belongs to me alone to try your ecclesiastical subjects; it belongs to me to try you in my court."

This pope seemed still less to preserve the greatness and impartiality of his office, when, after the murder of Henry III. by the monk, James Clement, he used these very words, in a speech which he made to the cardinals, which has been faithfully transmitted by the secretary of the consistory.

"This death, which occasions so much surprise and admiration, will hardly be credited by posterity. A powerful king surrounded by a numerous army, who had compelled the city of Paris to sue to him for mercy, is slain by a single stroke of a knife, by a poor monk. Certainly this great example has been given, in order that everyone might know the power of God's judgment."

Sixtus was right in refusing the empty honors of a funeral service to Henry III., whom he considered as excluded from the benefit of prayers. Accordingly he said in the same consistory: "I owe them to the

king of France, but not to Henry of Valois, who died impenitent."

All things yield to interest: this very pope, who had so proudly deprived Elizabeth and the king of Navarre of their kingdoms; who had signified to King Henry III. that he expected him at Rome to answer for his conduct, within sixty days, or else he would excommunicate him, refused after all to join with the league and the king of Spain against Henry IV., though at that time a heretic. He was sensible that if Philip II. succeeded, this prince, master of France, Milan, and Naples, would quickly become master likewise of the papal see, and of all Italy. Sixtus, then, did what every prudent man would have done in his place; he chose rather to expose himself to all Philip's resentment than to ruin himself by lending a hand to ruin Henry.

He died in this state of uncertainty, not daring to assist Henry, and fearing Philip. The people of Rome, who groaned beneath the weight of taxes, and who hated so oppressive and cruel an administration, grew outrageous upon the death of Sixtus — Aug. 26, 1690 — and were with great difficulty restrained from disturbing the funeral ceremony, and tearing to pieces the person whom they had adored on their knees. The riches he left behind him were squandered within less than a year after his death, like those of Henry IV., a common consequence, which sufficiently evinces the vanity of all human designs.

CHAPTER CLV.

THE SUCCESSORS OF SIXTUS V.

We may see how much men are governed by education, country, and prejudices of every kind. Gregory XIV., a native of Milan, and a subject of the king of Spain, was governed by the Spanish faction, whom Sixtus, a native of Rome, had always opposed. This pope sacrificed everything to Philip II. An army of Italians was raised to carry desolation into France, with the very money which Sixtus had amassed in order to defend Italy; and this army being beaten and dispersed, Gregory had nothing left but the shame of having impoverished himself for Philip II. and being tyrannized over by him.

Clement VIII. — Aldobrandini — a Florentine, behaved with more spirit and address; he knew very well that it was to the interest of the papal see to hold, as much as possible, the balance of power between France and the house of Austria. This pope added the duchy of Ferrara to the ecclesiastical demesnes. This was another effect of those feudal laws, so intricate and so contested, and an evident consequence of the weakness of the empire. The countess Mathilda, of whom we have so largely treated in the foregoing part of this work, had given the popes Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, together with several other lands. The emperors

always disputed the donation of these demesnes, which were fiefs to the crown of Lombardy. They became, in spite of the empire, fiefs to the papal see; as well as Naples, which was also held of the popes, after it had been held of the emperors. It is but of late years that Modena and Reggio have been formerly declared imperial fiefs: but ever since the time of Gregory VII. they, as well as Ferrara, had been dependent on the see of Rome; and the house of Modena, which had been formerly proprietor of these lands, only held them by the title of vicars to the holy see. The courts of Vienna and the imperial diets in vain pretended to be lords paramount. Clement VIII. took Ferrara from the house of Este, and what might have occasioned a violent war produced nothing but protests. Since that time Ferrara has been almost a desert.

This pope performed the ceremony of giving absolution and discipline to Henry IV., in the persons of the cardinals Duperron and Ossat; but it was evident how much the see of Rome stood in awe of Philip II. by the management and artifices which Pope Clement made use of to bring about Henry's reconciliation to the Church. This prince had solemnly abjured the reformed religion; and yet two-thirds of the cardinals in the consistory refused to grant his absolution. His ambassadors could with great difficulty prevent the pope from making use of this formula: "We restore Henry to his royalty." The pope's ministry would gladly have acknowl-

edged Henry as king of France, and have opposed this prince to the house of Austria; but at the same time it supported, as far as it was able, its ancient pretension to dispose of kingdoms.

Under Paul V. — Borghese — the old quarrel about the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which had formerly cost so much blood, was revived. The senate of Venice prohibited any new donations to be made to churches, without the concurrence of the state; in particular, the alienations of landed estates in favor of monks. It likewise thought it had a right of arresting and trying a canon of Vicenza, and an abbot of Nervese, who had been convicted of extortion and murder.

The pope wrote to the republic, that the sentence and imprisonment of the two ecclesiastics was an injury offered to God's honor, and required that the decree of the senate should be delivered to his nuncio, together with the persons of the two culprits, who could be tried only by the Roman courts.

Paul V., who, but a little time before, had obliged the republic of Genoa to submit on a similar occasion, thought to meet with the same pliability in that of Venice. The senate sent an ambassador extraordinary to defend its privileges. Paul answered the ambassador, that neither the arguments nor the privileges of the Venetians were of any consequence, and that they must obey. The senate would not obey. Upon this the doge and senators were all excommunicated, and the whole state laid under

an interdict, on April, 17, 1606; that is to say, the clergy were prohibited, under pain of eternal damnation, from saying mass, celebrating divine service, administering the sacraments, or giving their assistance in burying the dead. This was the manner in which Gregory VII. and his successors had treated several emperors, being sure at that time that the people would rather abandon their emperors than their churches; and depending upon having some potentate ready to invade the dominions of those who were excommunicated. But the times were now changed. Paul V. by this violent procedure, ran the risk of not being obeyed, and of urging the Venetians to shut up their churches, and renounce the Roman Catholic religion. They might easily have embraced either the Greek, the Lutheran, or the Calvinistic faith; and there was actually a motion made to separate from the pope's communion. But the change could not have been effected without some trouble; of which the king of Spain might have taken advantage. The senate contented itself with prohibiting the reading of the mandate throughout its territories. The chief vicar of the bishopric of Padua, when this prohibition was intimated to him, made answer to the Podesta, that he would act as God inspired him: but the Podesta replying, that God had inspired the council of ten to order everyone to be hanged who should disobey their injunction, the interdict was not published in any place; and the court of Rome was very glad to

let the Venetians continue in the profession of the Catholic religion, in spite of her authority.

There were only a few of the religious orders who obeyed the pope's mandate. The Jesuits would not be the first to set the example, and therefore sent a deputation from their body to the general assembly of the Capuchins, who told those fathers, that "the eyes of the whole universe were fixed upon the Capuchins in this great affair, and waited for their example to know how to act." The Capuchins, without hesitation, shut up their churches. The Jesuits and the Theatins did the same: upon which the senate shipped them all off to Rome, and the Jesuits in particular were banished forever.

The king of Spain stirred up the pope against the Venetians, and Henry IV. declared in their favor. The cities of Verona, Padua, Bergamo, and Brescia, took up arms; and the republic raised four thousand soldiers in France. The pope on his side ordered four thousand Corsicans and some Catholic Swiss to be raised. This little army was to be commanded by Cardinal Borghese. The Turks gave public thanks to God for this misunderstanding between the pope and the Venetians. Henry IV. had the honor, as I have already mentioned, of being the arbiter in this difference, and of excluding Philip from the mediation. Paul V. had the mortification of not being able even to get the arrangement concluded at Rome. Cardinal de Joyeuse, who was sent envoy to Venice by the king of France, revoked, in

the pope's name, the sentence of excommunication and interdiction, in 1607. The pope, thus abandoned by Spain, behaved with greater moderation, and the Jesuits continued banished from the republic for more than fifty years; till at length they were recalled in 1657, at the instance of Pope Alexander VII., but they have never been able to re-establish their credit there.

Paul V. from that time would never make any decision which could call his authority in question. He was in vain importuned upon the article of faith, concerning the immaculate conception of the holy virgin; he contented himself with forbidding anyone to teach the contrary in public, that he might not give offence to the Dominicans, who pretend that she was conceived like others, in original sin. The Dominicans were at that time very powerful both in Spain and Italy.

This pontiff applied himself to the embellishment of Rome, and collected the best works in sculpture and painting. Rome is indebted to him for its finest fountains, particularly that which throws its waters out of an antique vase, taken from the baths of Vespasian, and that which is called the *Aqua Paola,* an ancient work of Augustus, which Paul V. restored, and caused water to be brought to it by an aqueduct thirty-five thousand paces long, like that of Sixtus V. There seemed to be a contest who should leave the most beautiful monuments behind him in Rome. This pope finished the palace of Monte Cavallo.

The palace of Borghese is one of the most considerable. Rome became the most beautiful city in the world. Urban VIII. built the high altar in St. Peter's, the columns and ornaments of which would everywhere else appear stupendous works, but which here are only in a just proportion. It is the masterpiece of the Florentine, Bernini,[1] whose works are worthy of being admitted among those of his countryman, Michelangelo.

This Urban VIII., whose name was Barberino, was a lover of all the arts; and was particularly successful in Latin poetry. The people of Rome during his pontificate enjoyed all the sweets which talents

[1] John Laurentius Bernini was born at Naples, though of a Tuscan family; he excelled in the different arts of painting, sculpture, architecture, and mechanics. Pope Gregory XV. procured his admittance as a knight into the Order of Christ in Portugal; and Urban VIII. made him overseer of the edifice of St. Peter's. In this church there are fifteen different pieces of his workmanship. The principal of these are the altar-piece and the tabernacle, the chair of St. Peter, the tombs of Urban VIII. and Alexander VII. the equestrian statue of Constantine, the colonnade, consisting of three hundred and twenty vast pillars of freestone; and having on its flat roof eighty-six statues of saints twice as large as life. He also designed the fountain in the square of Navonna, the church of St. Andrew of the novitiate of the Jesuits, which is esteemed a perfect model in architecture. In the year 1665, he was invited to France, to design the Louvre, and there he made an excellent bust of Henry IV. who rewarded his merit with an ample pension. He afterward undertook an equestrian statue of that monarch, which did not answer expectation, and was converted into the representation of Curtius leaping into the gulf.

diffuse through society, and the reputation which attends them. Urban incorporated the duchy of Urbino, Pesaro, and Senigaglia, with the ecclesiastical state, after the extinction of the house of Rovere, which held these principalities in fee of the holy see. The dominion of the Roman pontiffs had received a continual increase of power ever since the time of Alexander VI. Nothing now troubled the public tranquillity; for hardly any notice was taken of the little war which this Pope Urban, or rather his nephews, made upon Edward, duke of Parma, for the money which that duke owed the apostolic chamber for his duchy of Castro. This war was but short, and attended with little bloodshed, such as might be expected from these new Romans, whose manners necessarily were in conformity to the spirit of their government. Cardinal Barberino, the author of these troubles, marched at the head of his little army, fraught with indulgences. The sharpest battle was fought between four and five hundred men on each side. The fortress of Piegaia surrendered at discretion as soon as it saw the artillery approach; this artillery consisted of two culverins. Nevertheless, more negotiations were required to put an end to these trifling broils, which hardly deserve a place in history, than if the contest had concerned ancient Rome and Carthage. We mention this event only to give an insight into the genius of modern Rome,

who ended all affairs by negotiation, as ancient Rome did by conquest.

The Romans employed their leisure time in ceremonials of religion and precedencies, the arts, antiquities, public buildings, gardens, music, and assemblies, while a thirty years' war ruined Germany, while England was bathed in the blood of its king and its natives, and while France was laid waste by the succeeding civil wars; but though Rome itself was thus happy in its tranquillity, and famous by its noble monuments, the people were in the main miserable. The money which was expended in raising so many masterpieces of architecture returned to other nations, by its want of trade.

The popes were obliged to buy of foreigners all the corn wanted for the city, which they afterward retailed out to the inhabitants. This custom continues to this day. There are some states that are enriched by luxury, and others that are impoverished by it. The magnificence of some of the cardinals, and the pope's relatives, served to make the indigence of the lower people more visible, who, nevertheless, at the sight of so many beautiful edifices, seemed to glory amidst their poverty, in being inhabitants of Rome.

Those who travelled to Rome to admire its curiosities were surprised to find from Orvieto to Terracina, which is a tract of more than a hundred miles, only a desert country, destitute both of men and cattle. The *campagna di Roma* is indeed an unin-

habitable country, infected with filthy marshes and standing pools, which the ancient Romans had dried up. Rome itself is situated on a barren spot, and on the banks of a river which is not navigable. Its situation upon seven hills, is rather that of a den for wild beasts than a city. Its first wars were the ravages of a people who had nothing to subsist upon but plunder; and when the dictator Camillus had taken Veii, in Umbria, some few leagues from Rome, all the people were for quitting their barren soil and their seven mountains to transplant themselves to the more fertile and pleasant country of Veii. The environs of Rome were afterward made fertile only by the money of conquered nations, and the labor of an immense number of slaves. But this spot was covered with palaces instead of corn. At length it has resumed its former state, and is again a desert country.

The papal see possessed several rich territories elsewhere, particularly that of Bologna. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, attributes the misery of the people in the best parts of this country to the taxes and the form of government. He pretends, with almost all other writers, that an elective prince who reigns only a few years has neither the power nor the will to form those useful establishments which require time to make them advantageous to a state. It has been found easier to raise obelisks and build palaces and temples than to make the nation trading and opulent. Rome, though the capital of the Cath-

olic world, was nevertheless more thinly peopled than Venice and Naples, far inferior to Paris and London in that respect, and did not come near to Amsterdam in opulence, or the useful arts, which produce riches. At the end of the seventeenth century it was computed that there were no more than one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants in Rome, according to the printed list of the families; and this computation was verified by the register of births. There were born on an average annually three thousand six hundred children; this number of births, multiplied by thirty-four, gives nearly the sum of the inhabitants, which here is found to amount to one hundred and twenty-two thousand four hundred. There were about eight thousand Jews settled in Rome, who were not comprised in the above lists. These Jews have always lived peaceably both at Rome and Leghorn, without ever being subjected to those cruelties which have been exercised upon them in Spain and Portugal. There was no country in Europe where religion inspired so general a mildness of disposition as in Italy.

Rome was the centre of arts and politeness till the age of Louis XIV. and this it was that determined Queen Christina of Sweden to fix her residence there: but Italy was soon equalled in more than one branch by France, and far excelled in some others; England was as much superior to her in the sciences as in commerce. Rome, however, preserved the reputation of its antiquities and fine works, for

which it had been distinguished ever since the time of Pope Julius II.

CHAPTER CLVI.

VENICE.

TUSCANY, as being an ecclesiastical state, enjoyed a state of peace and tranquillity ever since the thirteenth century. Florence, the rival of Rome, drew as great a concourse of strangers, who came to admire the masterpieces of art, both ancient and modern, with which she abounded. There were a hundred and sixty public statues. The only two with which Paris was adorned — namely, that of Henry IV. and the horse which bears the statue of Louis XIII. — were cast in Florence, and were presents made by the grand dukes.

Tuscany became so flourishing by its trade, and its sovereigns so rich, that the grand duke Cosmo II. was able to send twenty thousand men to the assistance of the duke of Mantua, against the duke of Savoy, in 1613, without laying any tax upon his subjects; an example hardly to be found in the most powerful nations.

The city of Venice possessed a still more singular advantage; this was, that since the fourteenth century its internal quiet had not been disturbed for a single moment, the city was wholly exempt from any disorder, sedition, or alarms. Those strangers who went to Rome and Florence to see the noble

monuments of the polite arts in those cities were generally fond of making a visit to Venice, to enjoy the freedom and pleasures which reign there, and where there are several excellent paintings to amuse the curious, as well as at Rome. The liberal arts were cultivated with care, and the magnificent shows attracted strangers. Rome was the city of ceremonies, Venice the city of diversions. She had made peace with the Turks after the battle of Lepanto, and her trade, though fallen off, was still very considerable in the Levant. She was in possession of Candia and several other islands, of Istria, Dalmatia, a part of Albania, and all that she now has in Italy.

In 1618, in the midst of her prosperities this republic was on the point of being ruined by a conspiracy, the like of which had not been known since her first foundation. The abbot of St. Real, who has related this memorable event in a style worthy of Sallust, has embellished his narration with some romantic incidents; but the foundation is undoubtedly true. The Venetians had had a small war with the house of Austria on the coast of Istria. The Spanish king, Philip III., who was possessed of the duchy of Milan, was always the secret enemy of this republic. The duke of Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, Don Pedro of Toledo, governor of Milan, and the marquis of Bedemar, afterward Cardinal de Cueva, Philip's ambassador at Venice, entered into a plot for totally destroying

this state. The measures were so extraordinary, and the scheme so far exceeded probability, that the senate could not possibly conceive suspicion. Venice was guarded by its situation and the lagoons with which it was surrounded. The weeds and mud which are continually thrown upon these lagoons by the sea, prevent vessels from ever entering twice by the same passage, so that it is necessary to point out a new one almost every day. The republic had a formidable fleet on the coast of Istria, where she was carrying on the war against the archduke of Austria, who was afterward the emperor Ferdinand II. It seemed impossible to get entrance into Venice, and yet the marquis of Bedemar found means to assemble a body of strangers in the city, the one drawn in by another, to the number of five hundred. These were all engaged under different pretences by the principal conspirators, who secured their services with the money furnished by the ambassador. They were to set fire to the city in several places at a time. The Milanese troops were to be brought over from the mainland, and certain mariners who had been gained for that purpose, were to pilot a number of barks full of men, which the duke of Ossuna had taken care to send in readiness within a few leagues of the city. One of the conspirators, who was a naval officer in the republic's service, and commanded a squadron of twelve sail, undertook to burn all these ships, and by this extraordinary stroke prevent the rest of the

fleet from coming in time to relieve the city. The conspirators were all foreigners of different nations, and strangers to each other. It was therefore no wonder that the plot was discovered. The procurator Mani, a famous historiographer of this republic, tells us that the senate was informed of the whole conspiracy by several persons; but does not take the least notice of the pretended remorse with which one of the conspirators, called Jassier, is said to have been seized, on hearing Renaud, their chief, harangue them for the last time, who painted the horrors of their intended enterprise in such lively colors as struck Jassier with dismay instead of encouraging him. These speeches are generally the inventions of the writers themselves, and therefore everyone who reads history should distrust them. It is neither probable nor in the nature of things that the head of a conspiracy should give his accomplices so pathetic a description of the horrors they were to encounter, or terrify the imaginations of those whom he should embolden. The senate ordered every one of the conspirators whom they could apprehend to be instantly drowned in the canals of the city. They showed some respect to Bedemar's character of ambassador, which they could not well infringe, and caused him to be privately conveyed out of the city to save him from the fury of the populace.

Venice, after escaping from this danger, continued in a flourishing condition till the taking of the island of Candia. This republic sustained a war

alone against the Turkish emperor for nearly thirty years, that is to say, from 1641 till 1669. The siege of Candia was the longest and most memorable that we find mentioned in history; it lasted almost twenty years; sometimes turned into blockade, sometimes less vigorously, and in a manner quieted; then renewed again at different times. At length it was carried on in form for two years and a half without remission, till at last this heap of ashes, together with all the rest of the island, was surrendered to the Turks, in 1669.

How slowly, and with what difficulty is human nature civilized, and society improved! The Venetians, who dwelt almost at the gates of Italy, where all the arts were held in the highest estimation, were a people almost as unpolished as those of the north at that time. Istria, Croatia, and Dalmatia were in a manner barbarous, and yet this was the very Dalmatia which under the Roman empire was so fruitful and agreeable a country; the delicious spot which Diocletian chose for his retreat, at a time when neither the city nor name of Venice existed. Such is the vicissitude of human things. The Morlacks were the most savage people upon earth. Sardinia and Corsica had not the least tincture of the manners or improved genius for which the Italians were so distinguished. It was with Italy as with ancient Greece, who in the height of her politeness and glory had savage nations inhabiting her borders.

MALTA.

The Knights of Malta maintained themselves in this island, which had been given them by the emperor Charles V., after they had been driven out of Rhodes by Sultan Solyman in 1623. At that time the grand master of the order, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, with his knights and the few Rhodians who were attached to them, were wanderers from city to city, at Messina, Gallipoli, Rome, and Viterbo. L'Isle-Adam made a journey to Madrid to implore the assistance of Charles V. From there he travelled into France and England, endeavoring to collect the scattered remains of his order, which was thought to be entirely ruined. Charles V. made these knights a present of the Island of Malta in 1525, together with Tripoli; but Tripoli was soon taken from them again by Solyman's admirals. Malta was only a barren rock. The soil seemed to have been made fruitful formerly by great labor, when the Carthaginians were in possession of this island; for the new possessors found the ruins of several columns and grand buildings of marble, with inscriptions in the Punic language. These remains of grandeur were proofs that it had once been a flourishing country. The Romans did not think it unworthy of their notice when they took it from the Carthaginians. The Moors became masters of it in the ninth century, and Roger the Norman, count of Sicily, annexed it to that island toward the end of the

twelfth century. When Villiers l'Isle-Adam removed the seat of his order to this island, the aforementioned Sultan Solyman, enraged to see his ships still exposed to the attacks of those enemies whom he thought he had rooted out, resolved to make the conquest of Malta, as he had done that of Rhodes, and, in 1565, sent an army of thirty thousand men to lay siege to this small place, which was defended only by seven hundred knights, and about eight thousand foreign soldiers. John de la Valette, then grand master, who was seventy-one years of age, sustained a siege of four months.

The Turks assaulted the town in several places at once; but were always repulsed by a machine of a new invention, formed of great wooden hoops, covered with woollen cloths, dipped in spirits of wine, oil, saltpetre, and gunpowder; these hoops were set on fire, and thrown all flaming into the midst of the assailants. At length a reinforcement of six thousand men being sent from Sicily to their assistance, the Turks were forced to raise the siege. The principal town of Malta, which had withstood the most assaults, was called the "victorious town," which name it still preserves. Grand Master de la Valette ordered a new citadel to be built, which is, after him, called La Valette, and has made Malta impregnable.

This small island has ever since bid defiance to all the Ottoman force; but the order has never been rich enough to attempt great conquests, or fit out

numerous fleets. This convent of warriors subsists chiefly upon the rents of those benefices it possesses in the Catholic states, and has not been able to do near the same hurt to the Turks that the Algerine corsairs have to the Christians.

CHAPTER CLVII.

HOLLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

HOLLAND is deserving of our attention, as it is entirely a new kind of state, which has become powerful without possessing hardly any territories; rich, without having a revenue sufficient to maintain the twentieth part of its inhabitants, and considerable in Europe by its labors at the farther end of Asia.

You have seen this republic recognized as a free and sovereign state by its former master the king of Spain, after having purchased its liberty by a forty years' war. Labor and sobriety were the principal guardians of this liberty. It is said, that as the marquis of Spinola and President Richardot were going to The Hague, in 1608, to negotiate the first truce with the Hollanders, they saw on their way eight or ten persons come on shore out of a boat, who, sitting down on the grass, made a plentiful meal upon bread, butter, cheese, and a draught of beer, each of them carrying his own provisions with him. The Spanish ambassadors asking a countryman whom these travellers were, the countryman answered: "They are the deputies of our sovereign

lords and masters, the states." Upon which the ambassadors cried out: "These people are never to be conquered; we must make peace with them." This is nearly the same thing that is said to have happened between the king of Persia's ambassadors and those of the Lacedæmonians. The same manners might have produced a repetition of the same adventure. At that time the individuals of these provinces were poor, and the state rich; whereas, of late times, the inhabitants are wealthy, and the state poor. The reason is, that then the first fruits of commerce were set apart for the defence of the community.

The Dutch were not then in possession either of the Cape of Good Hope, which they took from the Portuguese in 1653, of Cochin and its dependencies, nor of Molucca. They had no direct trade to China, and that of Japan, of which they are now the masters, was prohibited them till the year 1609, by the Portuguese, or rather by the Spaniards, who were still masters of Portugal. But they had already made the conquest of the Molucca Islands, and had begun to form settlements in Java; and their East India Company had more than doubled its capital from 1602 till 1609. The Siamese had already, in 1608, paid the same honors to these trading people, through their ambassadors, as they did afterward to Louis XIV. Ambassadors also arrived to The Hague from Japan, in 1609, to settle a treaty of commerce. The emperor of Fez and Morocco sent

to desire of them a supply of men and ships. In the space of forty years they made a surprising addition to their reputation by commerce and war.

The mildness of this government, and the toleration of all kinds of worship, which might be dangerous, perhaps, but was nevertheless necessary, peopled Holland with a crowd of foreigners, especially Walloons, who were persecuted by the Inquisition in their own country, and who from slaves at home, became free citizens in this nation.

The Calvinistic religion, which was the reigning one in Holland, was another means of increasing its power. This country, at that time so poor, could have furnished wherewithal neither to support the magnificence of prelates nor to maintain religious orders; and a land which wanted men to defend it could ill afford to harbor those who engage themselves by oath to suffer as far as in them lies all the human species to perish. They had the example of England before them, which had become a third part more populous since the clergy had been permitted to enjoy the comforts of matrimony; and that the hopes of whole families were no longer buried within the barren confines of a cloister.

Amsterdam, notwithstanding the inconveniences of its harbor, became the magazine of the world. All Holland was embellished and enriched by immense works. The waters of the ocean were confined by double dikes. Vast canals were cut through all the towns in beds of stone, and the

streets formed large quays, ornamented with rows of tall trees. The boats unloaded their merchandise at the doors of the inhabitants; and strangers are never weary of admiring the singular medley formed by the roofs of houses, the branches of trees, and the streamers of shipping, which at one time, and in the same place, present a view of the sea, the town, and the country.

But, so strangely is evil blended with good, and so apt are men to wander wide of their first principles, that this republic was on the point of destroying with her own hands that liberty for which she had so long and bravely fought; and persecution carried bloodshed among a people, whose happiness and laws were founded on toleration. Two Calvinistic teachers did that which so many other teachers have done. Gomar and Arminius disputed in Leyden with the utmost fury on points which neither of them understood, and by their disagreement sowed dissension among the United Provinces. This dispute resembled in several points that between the Thomists and Scotists, the Jansenists and Molinists, about predestination, grace, free-will, and other dark and idle questions, where the parties themselves can hardly define the things about which they dispute. The leisure and inaction which followed the conclusion of the truce gave the ignorant people an unhappy opportunity of filling their heads with these disputes; and, at length, from a scholastic controversy, two parties were formed in the state.

Maurice, prince of Orange, was at the head of the Gomarians; and the pensionary, Barneveldt, sided with the Arminians. Du Maurier says, that he was told by his father, the ambassador, that Maurice, having solicited the pensionary for his concurrence in conferring an absolute authority on the stadtholder, that zealous republican answered him only by setting forth the danger and injustice of such a project, and that from that instant Barneveldt's ruin was resolved upon. It is an acknowledged truth that the stadtholder aims to enlarge his own authority by means of the Gomarians, and that Barneveldt on the other side endeavored to curb it by the Arminians; that several cities raised soldiers, who were called attendants, because they waited for their orders from the magistracy, and would not take them from the stadtholder; that there were several seditions attended with bloodshed in many of the towns; and lastly, that Prince Maurice set no bounds to his persecution of those who resisted his authority.

At length, in 1618, he ordered a Calvinistic council to be assembled at Dordrecht, composed of deputies from all the reformed churches in Europe, excepting that of France, whose sovereign would not permit it to send deputies. The fathers of this synod, who had exclaimed so vehemently against the rigor of the fathers of several other councils, and even disputed their authority, condemned the Arians in the same manner as they themselves had

been condemned by the Council of Trent. Upward of a hundred Arian ministers were banished from the republic's territories. Prince Maurice chose twenty-six commissioners from the body of the nobility and magistracy to try the grand pensionary, Barnevelt, the famous Grotius, and others of their party. They were kept six months in prison, before they were brought to trial.

One of the principal motives of the first revolt of the seven provinces and the princes of Orange against Spain was that the duke of Alva had suffered several persons to languish in confinement without bringing them to trial, and afterward caused them to be condemned by commissioners. The same oppression which had been complained of under the Spanish monarchy was now revived in the very bosom of liberty. Barneveldt was beheaded[1] at The Hague

[1] John Olden Barneveldt, advocate-general and pensioner of the states of Holland, was a venerable patriot, who had rendered the most important services to his country; and in particular effected the truce for twelve years, between the archduke and the states-general, commencing in 1609. This was the real source of that resentment afterward manifested against him by Maurice, prince of Orange, who sought the gratification of his ambition in his endeavors to protract the war, when the people of Holland were divided by the dispute upon predestination, which had arisen between Arminius and Gomar, two Protestant ministers belonging to the republic. Barneveldt declared for the disciples of the former, chiefly because all they asked was toleration; whereas the Gomarians would not grant them that indulgence. The prince of Orange was at the head of these last, who carried their point in the synod of Dordrecht, where

in 1619, and suffered more unjustly than even the counts of Egmont and Hoorn, at Brussels. He was a venerable old man of seventy, who had served his country for over fifty years in the cabinet, with as much success as Maurice and his brothers had done in the field. He was sentenced for "having done his utmost to aggrieve God's church." Grotius,[1] who was afterward ambassador from Sweden to France, and still more illustrious by his writings than his embassy, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, from which his wife, by great resolution and good fortune, delivered him. This act of oppression gave birth to conspiracies, which

the Arminians were condemned. Barneveldt was beheaded at the age of seventy-two, on pretence of having harbored a design of betraying his country to the Spaniards; a design which he constantly denied with his last breath; a design of which no proof was adduced; a design diametrically opposite to the whole tenor of his former conduct. His death was publicly regretted by the princess of Orange, who did not scruple to declare that Prince Maurice and the whole family of Nassau should have honored Barneveldt as their father, on account of the great services he had done their house.

[1] This was the celebrated Hugo Grotius, advocate-general of Holland, syndic of Rotterdam, and the fast friend of Barneveldt. Being confined in the castle of Louvenstein, his wife obtained permission to supply him with some clothes, which she conveyed to him in a great chest. In this he was enclosed and carried out of the castle without suspicion. He retired to France, where he received a pension from Louis XIII., and afterward engaged in the service of Christina, queen of Sweden. He left a great many works both in verse and prose.

brought on fresh punishments. One of Barneveldt's sons resolved to avenge his father's death upon Maurice. The plot was discovered, and his accomplices, the principal of whom was an Arminian minister, were all put to death, in 1623, by the hands of the public executioner. Barneveldt's son had the good fortune to escape while they were busied in apprehending the rest of the conspirators; but his younger brother lost his head only for having been privy to the conspiracy. De Thou suffered death in France for the very same cause. The condemnation of young Barneveldt was much more cruel; it was indeed the height of injustice to put him to death, because he would not turn informer against his own brother. Had these times of cruelties and horror lasted, the free Hollanders would have been much more miserable than their enslaved ancestors, under the duke of Alva.

Amsterdam, though full of Gomarians, always favored the Arminians, and adopted the plan of toleration. The ambition and cruelty of Prince Maurice left a deep wound in the hearts of the Dutch; and the remembrance of Barneveldt's death did not a little contribute toward their excluding from the stadtholdership the young prince of Orange, William III., who was afterward king of England. He was only an infant in his cradle when the grand pensionary, De Witt, stipulated, in the treaty of peace which the states-general made with Cromwell in 1653, that there should be no stadt-

holder for the future in Holland. Cromwell still continued to persecute Charles I. in this his infant grandson, and the grand pensionary, De Witt, avenged the blood of a pensionary. This proceeding of De Witt's proved in the end the cause of his own fatal end, and that of his brother: but these were almost the only bloody catastrophes occasioned in Holland by the struggle between liberty and ambition.

Notwithstanding these disturbances at home, the East India Company built Batavia, in 1618, in spite of the opposition they met with from the kings of the country, and the English, who came to attack their new settlement. Holland, which is itself a marshy and barren country in many parts, formed a new kingdom within five degrees of the line, and in the most fertile spot in the globe, where the fields are covered with rice, pepper, cinnamon, and vines, that bear twice a year. It has since made itself master of Bantam, in the same island, after driving the English out. This company alone has eight great governments in the East Indies, including the Cape of Good Hope — though it is properly the farthest point of Africa — an important place which they took from the Portuguese in 1653.

While the Dutch were thus forming settlements at the extremities of the East, they began to extend their conquests westward in America, after the expiration of the twelve years truce they had made with Spain. The West India Company possessed

itself of almost all the Brazils between 1623 and 1636. It is amazing to see, in the registers of this company, that in so short a space of time it fitted out eight hundred sail of ships, partly men-of-war and partly merchantmen, and took five hundred and forty-five vessels from the Spaniards. This company was at that time much superior to the East India one; but afterward, when Portugal had thrown off the Spanish yoke, that nation defended its possessions better than the Dutch, and recovered the Brazils from them, where it found a new source of riches.

The most profitable of all the Dutch expeditions was that of Admiral Peter Hein, who, in 1628, took the whole fleet of Spanish galleons, returning home from Havana, and by that one cruise brought back over twenty millions to his country. The treasures of the new world, which had been conquered by the Spaniards, served to strengthen the hands of their old subjects against them, who were now their most formidable enemies. The republic carried on this war during eighty years — if we except the twelve years truce — in the Netherlands, in the East Indies, and in the new world, and was sufficiently powerful to secure an advantageous peace to herself at Münster in 1647, independent of France, her ally and old protector, without whom she had promised to make no treaty. Soon afterward, in 1652, and the following year, she ventured to break with the English; she had as powerful a fleet, and her admiral,

Tromp, disputed the sovereignty of the sea with the famous Admiral Blake, till he was slain in an engagement. She afterward sent aid to the king of Denmark, when besieged in his capital of Copenhagen by Charles XII. of Sweden. Her fleet, commanded by Admiral Opdam, beat the Swedish fleet, and delivered Copenhagen. She declared war against the English, to whom she was always a rival in trade, in the reign of Charles II., as she had formerly done with Cromwell, though with far greater success. In 1668, she became the arbiter of crowned heads, and obliged Louis XIV. to make peace with Spain. This republic, which had been hitherto so closely connected with France, from that time till the end of the seventeenth century supported Spain against France. She has a long time been one of the principal parties in the affairs of Europe. She has fallen and risen again; and at last, though considerably weakened, she subsists wholly by her trade, which was her first foundation, without having made any conquests in Europe, excepting that of Maestricht, a very small and bad country, which only serves as a defence to her frontiers: she has not enlarged her dominions since the Peace of Münster, in which respect she more nearly resembles the ancient republic of Tyre, whose power lay solely in its trade, than that of Carthage, which had such numerous possessions in America; or Venice, which had too great an extent of territories on the mainland.

CHAPTER CLVIII.

DENMARK, SWEDEN, AND POLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

You have not seen Denmark entering into the system of Europe in the sixteenth century. Nothing memorable had happened to draw the eyes of other nations on it, since the deposition of the tyrant, Christian II. This kingdom, which is composed of Denmark and Norway, was a long time governed nearly in the same manner as Poland; it was an aristocracy, of which an elective king was president. This was the ancient form of government in almost all Europe. But in 1660[1] the assembly of

[1] It is surprising that our author should dwell so little on an event which stands single in the records of history. At the end of a war which had desolated the country, the estates were assembled to deliberate upon the present condition of the kingdom, and contrive means for raising money to pay the army and repair the fleet. The noblesse proposed a tax upon the consumption of different species, under such provisos and restrictions that they themselves must have been, in a great measure, exempted from the burden, which would have fallen chiefly upon the inhabitants of cities and towns. The clergy, as the third estate, exasperated at this scheme, proposed in their turn, that the fiefs of the crown, which the noblesse enjoyed upon very easy terms, should be farmed to the best bidders. A violent dispute ensued, and the two parties were greatly irritated against each other. Swan, bishop of Seelund, and Nansen, burgomaster of Copenhagen, were the persons who prevailed upon the clergy and the third estate, to issue a declaration that the crown should be rendered hereditary

the estates conferred the hereditary right of succession, and absolute sovereign power, on King Frederick III. Denmark then became the only kingdom in the world where the people had established arbitrary power by their own solemn act. Norway, though a country six hundred leagues in length, made no addition of power to the state; a territory of barren rocks could not be much peopled. The islands which compose Denmark are more fertile; but they had not then drawn the same advantages from them as they have since. It was little imagined at that time that the Danes would have an East India Company, and a settlement at Zanzi-

in the present royal family. This they transmitted to the noblesse for their concurrence. The nobles wanted to treat with the king, that he should be satisfied with the succession established in the male line of his family; a proposal which he rejected. The other two orders, finding the noblesse averse to their design, waited in a body on the king with this deed, which rendered the crown hereditary in his house: he thanked them for their good will, but declared he could not accept the offer without the concurrence of the nobility, who now endeavored to break up the diet and retire from the city. The gates were immediately shut, and in two days they complied. The capitulation that limited the royal authority was restored to the king, and all the three orders took the oath of allegiance anew. These transactions happened in October; and on January 10, each order, separately, delivered to the king an authentic act, by which they rendered the crown hereditary to his heirs whatsoever, either male or female; conferred upon him absolute power, not only in governing the state, but also in regulating the succession and regency. These three instruments, signed and sealed by all the members of the diet, are preserved in the archives of the kingdom.

bar; or that their king would be able to maintain a fleet of thirty men-of-war and an army of five thousand men. Governments, like men, are long in forming. The spirit of trade, industry, and economy is communicating from one to another. I shall not here speak of the wars in which Denmark was so frequently engaged with its neighbors, the Swedes; they have left few memorable traces behind them; and you will be better pleased to remark the manners and form of governments, than to enter into a detail of murders, which have produced no events worthy the attention of posterity.

The kings of Sweden were no more despotic than those of Denmark in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The four estates, composed of one thousand gentlemen, one hundred clergy, one hundred and fifty burghers, and about two hundred and fifty peasants, made all the laws of the kingdom. They were not acquainted here, any more than in Denmark, or the rest of the northern kingdoms, with the titles of marquis, count, and baron, so common in the other European nations. King Eric, son of Gustavus Vasa, was the first to introduce them into Sweden, in 1561. This Eric, however, was far from being an absolute monarch; and he left the world an example of the misfortunes which may attend the desire of being despotic, without the power of being so. The son of the deliverer of Sweden was accused of various crimes before the assembly of the estates, and unanimously deposed,

as Christian II. had been in Denmark. He was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and his crown given to his brother John, in 1569.

As our principal design in this multitude of events is to direct your attention to those which depend on the manners and spirits of the times, it will be necessary to understand that King John, who was a Catholic, fearing that the partisans of the late king should rescue him from his confinement, and replace him on the throne, openly sent him poison, in the same manner as the sultan sends the bow-string, and ordered him to be solemnly interred with his face uncovered, that no person might be ignorant of his death, and that no one should afterward make use of his name to set up a new title to the throne.

The Jesuit, Possevinus, who was sent by Pope Gregory XIII. into Sweden and all the North, in quality of nuncio, in 1580, inflicted as a penance on King John for this murder, to eat only one meal on Wednesdays; a penance which was turned into ridicule, but serves to show that some expiation was necessary. King Eric had been punished much more rigorously for his crimes.

Neither King John nor the nuncio, Possevinus, could succeed in establishing the Catholic religion in Sweden. John, who was not pleased with Lutheranism, endeavored to introduce the Greek communion, but with no better success. This prince had some tincture of learning, and was almost the

only person in his kingdom who meddled with controversy. There was a university at Upsala; but it was reduced to two or three professors, without any students. The nation was unacquainted with anything but arms; and yet it had made little or no progress in the military art. They had not begun to use artillery till the time of Gustavus Vasa; the other arts were so wholly unknown among them that when King John fell ill in 1592, he died before they could find a physician; contrary to all other kings, who are frequently surrounded with too many. There was not then either a physician or surgeon in all Sweden; only a few grocers who sold medicinal drugs, which they administered at hazard. This was the custom through almost all the North. Mankind were so far from being exposed in that country to an abuse of the arts, that they did not even know how to procure themselves the necessary ones.

Nevertheless, Sweden might at that time have become very powerful. Sigismund, son of this King John, had been elected king of Poland, eight years before the death of his father. In 1600, the Swedes got possession of Finland and Esthonia. Sigismund, now king of Sweden and Poland, might have conquered all Muscovy, which was at that time in no posture of defence; but Sigismund was a Catholic, and his Swedish subjects Lutherans, so that he made no conquests; and at length lost the crown of Sweden. The same estates who had

deposed his uncle Eric, deposed him also, in 1604; and declared another of his uncles king in his stead: this was Charles IX., father of the great Gustavus Adolphus. All these events did not happen without commotions, wars, and conspiracies, which ever attend such changes. Charles IX. was regarded as a usurper by the princes who were allies to Sigismund; but the Swedes considered him as their lawful sovereign.

Gustavus Adolphus, his son, succeeded him in 1611, without any obstacle, when he was not fully eighteen years of age, which is the time limited for the majority of the kings of Sweden and Denmark, as well as that of the princes of the empire. The Swedes were not then in possession of Scania, one of the finest of their provinces, it having been ceded to the Danes ever since the fourteenth century; so that the kingdom of Sweden was almost always the theatre of all the wars between the Swedes and Danes. The first thing which Gustavus Adolphus did was to make an incursion into Scania, but he could never recover it. His first wars proved very unsuccessful, and he was obliged to make peace with Denmark. But so great was his inclination to war, that, in 1613, he marched to attack the Muscovites beyond Narva, as soon as he was free from the Danes. He afterward fell upon Livonia, which belonged to the Poles, and attacking his cousin Sigismund everywhere, he penetrated into Livonia. The emperor, Ferdinand II., who was Sigismund's

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

Her cousin, Charles X., duke of Deux-Ponts, was chosen her successor by the estates. This prince was wholly devoted to war. He marched into Poland, and conquered it with the same rapidity as we have since seen his grandson, Charles XII., subdue it; and he lost it in the same manner. The Danes, who were then the defenders of Poland, as being constant enemies to the Swedes, fell upon Sweden; but Charles X., though driven out of Poland, marched over the sea upon the ice, from island to island, and appeared before Copenhagen. This prodigious undertaking brought about a peace; by which Scania was restored to Sweden, after having been kept from it for over three centuries.

His son, Charles XI., was the first absolute king of Sweden, and his grandson, Charles XII., was the last. I shall here observe only one thing, which shows how much the spirit of government has changed in the North, and how long a time it required to bring about this change. It was not till after the death of Charles XII. that the Swedes, who had hitherto been wholly devoted to arms, addicted themselves to agriculture and commerce, so far as an ungrateful soil and the mediocrity of their riches would permit them. They have had an East India Company; and their steel, which they formerly used only for fighting, has since been transported in their ships from the port of Gottenburg to the southern provinces of Mogulstan and China.

Poland was the only country in the world which, joining the name of republic with that of monarchy, always chose a foreigner for her king,[1] as the Venetians do for the general of their army. It is likewise the only kingdom which has not been actuated by the spirit of conquest, being wholly occupied in defending its frontiers against the incursions of the Turks and Muscovites.

The Catholic and Protestant factions, which had

[1] Our author surely cannot mean that Poland was always governed by a foreign prince, inasmuch as King Stanislaus, John Sobieski, Michael Koribat, Wiuesnowiski, John Casimir, and many other princes who reigned in that kingdom, were natives of Poland. The crown is indeed elective, and the king at his election is obliged to promise upon oath that he will inviolably observe the *pacta conventa*, or capitulation tendered to him by order of the senate and nobility. The principal articles of this agreement are these: "That the king shall not appoint his successor; that he shall leave to the republic the right of coining money; that he shall not declare war against any prince or state whatsoever, without the consent of the republic; that he shall admit no foreigners into his council, nor confer upon them any office, dignity, or government; that he shall not marry but according to the ancient laws, with the consent of the senate; that for the maintenance of his table, he shall have no royal demesnes but such as the republic granted to the kings, his predecessors; that with the advice of his council, he shall regulate the forces of the republic in such a manner, that it shall never have occasion for foreign auxiliaries; that he shall not in any shape diminish, but on the contrary augment, the treasure at Cracovia; that he shall borrow no money but with the consent of the republic; that should the necessities of the state ever require a naval force, he shall not have power to raise it but with the consent to the nobility and by the advice of the senate."

disturbed so many states, at length made their way into this nation. The Protestants were in so much credit as to procure an edict, granting them liberty of conscience, in 1587; and their party was so strong that the pope's nuncio, Annibal of Capua, employed them only to endeavor to place the crown of Poland on the head of the archduke Maximilian, brother of the emperor Rudolph II. Accordingly, the Protestant faction actually elected the archduke, while the opposite faction chose the Swedish prince, Sigismund, grandson of Gustavus Vasa, of whom we have already spoken. Sigismund should have been king of Sweden, had the rights of succession taken place; but you have already seen that the throne of Sweden was at the disposal of the estates. And he was so far from reigning there, that his nephew, Gustavus Adolphus, was on the point of driving him from the throne of Poland, and laid aside his design only to march into Germany, in order to dethrone the emperor.

It is an astonishing thing that the Swedes should have so often overrun Poland as conquerors, and that the Turks, who are so much more powerful, should never have penetrated far beyond the borders of that kingdom. Sultan Osman attacked the Poles with an army of two hundred thousand men in Sigismund's time, on the side of Moldavia. The Cossacks, who were the only people then connected with the republic, and who were under its protection, by the obstinate resistance they made, rendered

the Turkish invasion fruitless. What must we conclude from the ill-success of so powerful an armament, except that the sultan's generals did not know how to make war?

Sigismund died in the same year as Gustavus Adolphus — 1632. His son, Ladislaus, who succeeded him, saw the beginning of the fatal defection of these Cossacks, who had been so long the bulwarks of the republic, and now gave their service either to the Turks or the Russians. These people, whom we must distinguish from the Cossacks of the Don, inhabit the borders of the Dnieper. Their lives are, in every respect, like those of the ancient Scythians, and of the Tartars, who border on the Black Sea. All this part of the world, to the north-east of Europe, was then in a savage state. It was the exact image of the pretended heroic ages, when mankind were contented with the necessaries of life, and pillaged these necessaries from their neighbors. The Polish nobles in the palatinates, which bordered upon the Ukraine, wanted to treat the Cossacks as their vassals, that is to say, their bondmen: upon which the whole nation, who had no other possessions but their liberty, revolted to a man; and for a long time committed horrid depredations on the territories of Poland. These Cossacks were of the Greek Church; another strong reason to make them irreconcilable enemies to the Poles. Part of them acknowledged the Russians for their masters and part the Turks, on condition of still enjoying their

liberty, or rather anarchy. They still preserve the little religion they had among them, which was that of the Greek Church, but are now almost wholly deprived of their liberty by the Russian Empire; which, since it has of late years been civilized itself, has attempted to civilize them also.

King Ladislaus died without leaving any issue by his wife, Maria Louisa de Gonzaga, who was in love with Cinq-Mars, master of the horse to Louis XIII. of France. Ladislaus had two brothers, both in holy orders; the one, called John Casimir, was a Jesuit and a cardinal; the other, bishop of Breslau and Kieff. The cardinal and the bishop disputed the throne with each other. Casimir was at length elected in 1648, and he sent back the cardinal's hat to the pope, and took the crown in its stead. But after having been a spectator for over twenty years of the desolation of his kingdom, by factions at home and by the incursions of Charles X., king of Sweden, and those of the Muscovites and Cossacks, he, following the example of Queen Christina, abdicated in 1687, but with far less glory, and retired to Paris, where he died abbot of St.-Germain-des-Prés.

Poland was not more happy under his successor, Michael Coribut. All that she lost at different times would form an immense kingdom. The Swedes had taken Livonia, which the Russians still continue in possession of, together with the duchy of Courland. The Russians themselves, after

having stripped it of the provinces of Pleskoff and Smolensk, made themselves masters of almost all Kieff and the Ukraine. The Turks took Podolia and Volhynia in the reign of this Michael. In fine, Poland could not support itself but by becoming tributary to the Ottoman Porte. The grand marshal of the crown, John Sobieski, washed out this stain, indeed, in the blood of the Turks, at the battle of Chokzim;[1] this famous battle delivered Poland from

[1] This battle, which was fought November 11, 1673, at Chokzim on the Dniester, by the frontier of Moldavia, continued three days successively. The Turks are said to have lost eight thousand janissaries, and more than double that number of spahis. They were afterward worsted in several engagements by Sobieski, and obliged to sue for peace, which was concluded at Zurowna. In 1674 he was elevated to the throne of Poland, notwithstanding the opposition of the emperor, Leopold, who endeavored to procure the crown for Prince Charles of Lorraine. In 1683, the grand vizier, Kara Mustapha, entered Hungary at the head of two hundred and forty thousand men, defeated the prince of Lorraine at the passage of the Raab, and undertook the siege of Vienna. Sobieski, understanding that the city was reduced to extremity, generously forgot the ill offices he had sustained at the hands of the emperor, and marched with a considerable army to his assistance. Being joined by the imperial army, under the duke of Lorraine, and by the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, at the head of their respective troops, he gave battle to the Turks, and routed them with great slaughter. Vienna being relieved, he pursued the enemy to Barkau, where, though at first he met with a check, owing to the impetuosity of his courage, he next day renewed the attack with such vigor that the Turks were entirely defeated. In consequence of this victory, he relieved Barkau, Gran, and Strigonia.

its tribute, and placed the crown on Sobieski's head. But certainly this victory was neither so fatal to the Turks, nor so decisive as was said, seeing that they still continued to keep possession of Podolia and a part of the Ukraine, with the important fortress of Kaminiek, which they had taken. It is true that when Sobieski came to be king, he rendered his name immortal by the delivery of Vienna, but he could never recover Kaminiek; and the Turks kept it till after his death, when they restored it at the Peace of Carlowitz, in 1699.

Poland, amidst all its commotions, never suffered a change in its manners, its government, or its laws; nor became either richer or poorer: but for want of a perfect military discipline, which the Czar Peter had, through the assistance of foreigners, found means to introduce among his subjects, and which proved so infinitely advantageous to his kingdom, it has happened that the Russians, who were so long held in contempt by the Poles, have obliged them to receive a king of their nomination; and that ten thousand Russians have imposed laws on the assembly of the Polish nobility.

As to religion, it occasioned very little disturbance in this part of the world. The Unitarians had for some time churches in Poland and Lithuania, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. These Unitarians, who were sometimes called Socinians, sometimes Arians, pretended to defend the cause of the Deity Himself, by considering Him as one sole

incommunicable being, who had no son but by adoption. This was not entirely the doctrine of the ancient Eusebians. They pretended to restore upon earth the purity of the primitive ages of Christianity, renouncing all civil offices, and the profession of arms. Subjects, who made a scruple of conscience of fighting, did not seem very well adapted for a country that was incessantly in arms against the Turks. Nevertheless, this religion continued to flourish in Poland till 1658,[1] when it was prohibited, because it was found that these sectaries, who had renounced arms, had not renounced intrigues. They had entered into a league with Ragotski, prince of Transylvania, at that time an enemy to the republic. However, they still continue in great numbers in Poland, though they are not allowed to make an open profession of their opinion.

Maimbourg pretends that they fled over to Holland, "where," says he, "every religion is tolerated but that of the Church of Rome." The orator is

[1] Faustus Socinus resided in this nation, and his disciples became very numerous; but they were restrained by an edict, in the reign of John Casimir; and John Sobieski expelled them from the kingdom for having published a book entitled "*Tormentum Trinitatem Throno Deturbans.*" Socinus denied the pre-existence of the world, and considered Jesus Christ as no other than a mere man. He maintained that the Holy Ghost was not a distinct person, and that the Father alone was truly and properly God. He rejected the doctrines of redemption, of original sin, grace, and predestination; and affirmed that the sacraments were simple ceremonies without efficacy.

greatly mistaken in this article, as he is in many others. The Roman Catholics are so far tolerated in the United Provinces, that they make almost two-thirds of the nation; whereas the Unitarians or Socinians never had any public place of divine worship there. This religion has spread itself privately in Holland, Transylvania, Silesia, Poland, and England; more especially in the latter. It may be reckoned among the many revolutions of the human mind, that this religion, which reigned in the Church for three centuries and a half after Constantine, should be revived again in Europe within these two centuries, and spread itself over so many provinces, and yet not have a single temple in any one part of the world. It seems as if Christians were afraid to admit into their communion a sect which formerly triumphed for so long a time over all other communions.

CHAPTER CLIX.

RUSSIA IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

We did not at this time give the name of Russia to Muscovy, and we had but a vague idea of this country; the city of Moscow being better known in Europe than the rest of this vast empire, it was then called Muscovy. Its sovereign takes the title of emperor of all the Russias, because there are several provinces of this same name, which either

belong to him, or to which he has some pretensions; viz., White Russia, in which is the capital of Moscow, and which is the old territory of the Roxelans; Black Russia, a part of which, toward Lithuania, belongs to the Poles; and Red Russia, which is to the westward of the Boristhenes.

The form of government in Muscovy, or Russia, in the sixteenth century, was nearly the same as that of Poland. The boyards, like the Polish nobles, reckoned their riches by the number of inhabitants on their lands. The husbandmen were all their slaves. The czars were frequently chosen by the boyards; but the czar likewise as frequently nominated his own successor, which the kings of Poland never did. The use of artillery was very little known in this part of the world in the sixteenth century, and they were entire strangers to military discipline: every boyard brought his peasants with him to the place of rendezvous for the troops, and armed them with arrows, sabres, wooden poles tipped with steel, in the form of pikes, and a few muskets. They had no field operations, no magazines, no hospitals; their only method of making war was by incursions, and when there was nothing more to plunder, the Russian boyard, the Polish starost, and the Tartarian mirza called off his troops.

Manuring the ground, tending the flocks, and fighting was the whole of a Russian's life till the time of Peter the Great, and the life of three-fourths of the inhabitants of the earth.

The Russians, about the middle of the sixteenth century, made an easy conquest of the kingdoms of Kazan and Astrakhan from the weakened Tartars, who were still more undisciplined than themselves: but before Peter the Great they could not make head against the Swedes on the side of Finland, as regular troops could not fail of having the advantage over them. From the time of John Basilowitz, or Basilides, who conquered Astrakhan and Kazan, a part of Livonia, Pleskoff, and Novgorod, till Czar Peter, there happened nothing considerable.

There was a remarkable resemblance between this Basilides and Czar Peter. Both of them put their own sons to death. John Basilides suspecting his son of a conspiracy against him, during the siege of Pleskoff, killed him with his spear; and Peter, who had condemned his son to die, would not suffer him to survive his sentence, though he seemed to forgive him.

There are few events in history of a more extraordinary nature than that of the false Demetrius, who disturbed Russia for so long a time after the death of John Basilides. This czar left two sons, named Feodor or Theodore, the other Demetri or Demetrius. Feodor succeeded to the crown; Demetrius was confined in a village named Uglis, together with the czarina, his mother. The rude manners of that court had not, as yet, adopted the policy of the sultan and ancient Greek emperors, to

sacrifice the princes of the blood to the safety of the throne. The prime minister, named Boris-Godenoff, whose sister Feodor had married, persuaded that prince that he could not establish his authority but by imitating the Turks and assassinating his brother. Boris accordingly sent an officer to the village, where young Demetrius was brought up, with orders to kill him. The officer, on his return, said that he had executed his commission, and claimed the promised reward: Boris, instead of recompensing the murderer, ordered him to be slain himself, in order to suppress all proofs of the crime. It is said that some time afterward this same prime minister poisoned Czar Feodor; but though he was suspected of this crime, he nevertheless succeeded to the crown of the prince whom he had murdered.

At this time there appeared in Lithuania a young man, who pretended to be Demetrius, who had escaped from the murderer sent to assassinate him. Several persons who had seen him with his mother pretended to know him again by certain marks. He resembled perfectly the prince in features and person, and showed a cross enriched with precious stones, which had been tied about the neck of Prince Demetrius when he was christened. The palatine of Sandomir acknowledged him immediately as the son of John Basilides, and the true czar. A diet of Poland examined solemnly the proofs of his birth; and having found them incontestable, fur-

nished him with an army to drive out the usurper Boris, and recover the crown of his ancestors.

In Russia, however, Demetrius was looked upon as an impostor, and even a magician. The Russians could never think that a Demetrius, introduced by Polish Roman Catholics, and having two Jesuits for his counsellors, could be their true king. The boyards were so persuaded of his being an impostor that, the czar Boris dying, they, without hesitation, placed his son Boris, a youth of fifteen years of age, on the throne.

In the meantime Demetrius continued advancing into Russia with the Polish army. Those who were displeased with the Muscovite government declared in his favor. One of the generals of the Russian troops, as soon as he came in presence of Demetrius's army, cried out that he was the lawful heir to the empire, and instantly went over to him with the corps he commanded. The revolution soon became complete. Demetrius was no longer a magician. The people of Moscow ran to seize upon young Boris and his mother, and dragged them to prison. Demetrius was proclaimed czar in 1605, without any contradiction. It was proclaimed that young Boris and his mother were murdered in prison. It is most probable that Demetrius caused them to be put to death.

The widow of John Basilides, mother of the true or false Demetrius, had been for a long time banished into the north of Russia; the new czar sent

to fetch her to court, in a kind of chariot, as magnificent as could be had at that time. He went several miles to meet her on the way, and both of them knew each other again, embracing with a flood of tears in the presence of all the people, who no longer doubted that Demetrius was the true emperor. He married the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir, his first protector, and this proved his ruin. The people could not bear to behold, without horror, a Catholic empress, a court filled with strangers, and a church built expressly for the Jesuits. Demetrius was no longer esteemed a Russian.

In the midst of the diversions given on account of the czar's marriage, a boyard named Zuski got together a number of conspirators, put himself at their head, and entered the palace with a drawn sabre in one hand and a cross in the other. The Polish guard were all cut in pieces: Demetrius himself was loaded with chains. The conspirators confronted him with the czarina, Basilides' widow, who had so solemnly acknowledged him as her son. The clergy obliged her to take an oath upon the cross and to declare whether Demetrius was really her son or not. Then, whether the fear of death forced the princess to take a false oath and overcame nature, or whether she actually paid the homage due to truth, she declared, with a flood of tears, that the czar was not her son; that the true Demetrius had been really murdered while a child;

and that she had followed the example of the rest of the nation, in acknowledging the new czar, in order to avenge the death of her son on the family of his murderers. It was then said that Demetrius was one of the common people; that his true name was Griska Utropoya, and that he had been some time a monk in a convent in Russia. He had been reproached before with not being of the Greek Church, and now he was reproached with being at once a Russian peasant and a Greek monk. However that was, the chief of the conspirators, Zuski, killed him with his own hand, and ascended the throne in his stead.

The new czar, who had thus suddenly seized on the crown, sent back to their own country the few Poles who had survived the slaughter. As he had no other right to the throne, nor any other merit but that of having assassinated Demetrius, the other boyards, who, from his equals, were now his subjects, soon spread a report abroad that the murdered czar was not an impostor, but the true Demetrius; and that his murderer was unworthy of the crown. The name of Demetrius was dear to the Russians. The chancellor of him who had been murdered took it into his head to declare that he was not dead, but that he would soon recover from his wounds, and appear at the head of his faithful subjects.

This chancellor travelled all over Muscovy, carrying with him in a litter a young man, whom he

called Demetrius, and treated as his sovereign. At this name there was a general insurrection of the people; battles were fought in the name of this Demetrius, whom nobody saw; but the chancellor's party being defeated, this second Demetrius soon disappeared. All imaginations were so impressed with this name that a third Demetrius presented himself in Poland, who proved more fortunate than his predecessors had been. He was supported by Sigismund, king of Poland, and came and besieged the tyrant Zuski in his very capital of Moscow. Zuski had still in his hands the widow of the first Demetrius, and the palatine of Sandomir, her father. The third Demetrius claimed her as his wife, and Zuski, who saw himself closely shut up within the city, restored the daughter and the father, hoping, perhaps, to soften the king of Poland, or flattering himself that the princess would acknowledge an impostor as her husband; but this impostor was victorious. The widow of the first Demetrius therefore did not hesitate to acknowledge this third as her true and lawful husband; and as the first had found a mother, the third as easily found a wife. The father-in-law swore that this was his son-in-law, and the people believed it as a truth. The boyards, divided between the tyrant Zuski and the impostor, acknowledged neither the one nor the other. They deposed Zuski, and confined him in a convent. This was a superstitious notion which the Russians had, in common with the old Greek

Church, that a prince who had once been made a monk could never reign afterward: this same custom had formerly crept into the Latin Church. Zuski appeared no more, and Demetrius was assassinated at a feast by some Tartars in 1610.

The boyards then offered their crown to Prince Ladislaus, son of Sigismund, king of Poland. Ladislaus made preparations to come and receive it, when a fourth Demetrius appeared to dispute it with him. This person pretended that God had constantly preserved him in the three attempts made upon his life, at Uglis, by the tyrant Boris; at Moscow, by the usurper Zuski, and again by the Tartars. He found several partisans who believed these three miraculous escapes. The city of Pleskoff acknowledged him as czar. He fixed his court there for some years, during which time the Russians, who repented then of having called in the Poles, drove them out everywhere, and Sigismund lost all hope of seeing his son Ladislaus on the throne of the czars. In the midst of these troubles the son of the patriarch Feodor Romanoff was placed on that throne. The patriarch was a relative, by the wife's side, of John Basilides. His son, Michael Federowitz, that is to say, the son of Feodor, was chosen czar at seventeen years of age by his father's interest. All Russia acknowledged this Federowitz; and the city of Pleskoff delivered up to him the fourth Demetrius, who ended his reign on a gallows.

There was yet a fifth left: this was the son of the first who had actually reigned, and had espoused the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir; his mother had conveyed him out of Moscow when she went in quest of the third Demetrius, in whom she pretended to discover her true husband. She afterward took refuge among the Cossacks with this child, who was looked upon as the grandson of John Basilides, and who might very possibly be so; but as soon as Michael Federowitz was settled on the throne he obliged the Cossacks to deliver up the mother and son, and ordered them both to be drowned.

It was not expected that a sixth Demetrius would make his appearance; however, a new pretender showed himself at the court of Russia, under this name, while Michael Federowitz reigned in Muscovy and Ladislaus in Poland. Some young people, who were bathing with a Cossack of their own age, perceived these words pricked upon his back with the point of a needle, in Russian characters, "Demetrius, the son of the czar Demetrius." This person immediately passed for the same son of the first Demetrius who had been drowned by the czar Federowitz's orders. God had worked a miracle for his deliverance;[1] he was treated as the czar's

[1] According to the account given of this young man by Moréri, from the *Imposteurs Insignes*, there was no miracle pretended; and this, in all probability, was really the son of Demetrius Griska. The princess, his mother, being far

son at Ladislaus' court, and was made use of to excite new troubles in Russia. But his protector, Ladislaus, dying, he lost all hope of succeeding,

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advanced in her pregnancy when her husband was murdered, and foreseeing that the usurper's vengeance would fall upon the fruit of her womb, prevailed upon a Cossack, whose wife was in the same situation, to exchange their children: by which means the Cossack's child passed for the son of Demetrius, and was put to death accordingly. The other child being baptized, and marked on the back with characters signifying his birth, was carried away by the Cossack into his own country; where, however, he bestowed upon him a good education, in consequence of having received a considerable sum of money from the mother. This princess had, at her death, disclosed to some of her confidants the secret of her child; but she knew not whither the Cossack had retired, and he died suddenly, without having made Demetrius acquainted with the story of his birth. Chance, however, discovered him, in the little town of Samburg, twelve miles from Lovemburg, in Black Russia. The marks on his back being perceived in the bath, he was acknowledged by John Nicholas Danielouski, treasurer of the kingdom, who sent him in a proper equipage to the court of Ladislaus IV., king of Poland. At the death of this king, he retired to Sweden, where, thinking himself not altogether safe, he removed to the court of Holstein, where he met with a hospitable reception. This prince having sent two ambassadors to Muscovy, one of them, called Burchman, borrowed in his master's name, a considerable sum of money from the grand duke of Muscovy's treasurer. A Russian factor at Lübeck gave the duke of Holstein to understand that the debt should be cancelled if he would deliver Demetrius to the czar. The duke could not resist this temptation: and the prince was sent by sea to Moscow, where he suffered death. His head and members were fixed upon poles before the castle, and his body was devoured by dogs.

and retired into Sweden, and thence to Holstein. Unhappily for him the duke of Holstein having sent an ambassador to the court of Moscow, in order to settle a trade for Persian silks, the ambassador, instead of succeeding in his negotiation, ran greatly in debt at Moscow, and the duke of Holstein, to procure a discharge of this debt, delivered up this last Demetrius, who was quartered alive.

These adventures, which sound fabulous, and yet are very true, never happen among a civilized people, who have a regular form of government. The czar Alexis, son of Michael Federowitz, and grandson of the patriarch Feodor Romanoff, who was crowned in 1645, is scarcely known in Europe, unless by being father of Peter the Great.

Russia, till the time of Peter the Great, continued almost unknown to the southern nations of Europe, and plunged in a miserable despotism of the prince over the boyards, and the boyards over the peasants. What are at present complained of as abuses among civilized nations, would have been divine laws for the Russians. There are some regulations which excite the murmurs of our merchants and manufacturers; but in all the northern countries it was very rare to have a bed; the people in general lay upon the boards, which the better sort covered with a sort of coarse cloth, which they bought at foreign fairs, or else with the skin of some wild or domestic animal.

When the earl of Carlisle was ambassador from

Charles II. of England, in 1663, to Moscow, he travelled through the whole Russian Empire, from the port of Archangel in Poland, and everywhere met with the same customs, and that general poverty which such a custom presupposes, while the court shone with gold and jewels in a rude splendor.

An inhabitant of Crim Tartary, or a Cossack on the banks of the Don, reduced to the savage life of a Russian subject, was far more happy than he, since he was free and at liberty to go where he pleased, whereas a Russian was forbidden to go out of the country under pain of death. You will find in the history of Charles XII. of Sweden, and that of Czar Peter, therein included, how prodigious a difference half a century has produced in this empire. Thirty ages would not have effected what Peter did by travelling only a few years.

CHAPTER CLX.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY — SIEGE OF CANDIA — FALSE MESSIAH.

After the death of Selim II., the Ottomans maintained their superiority in Europe and Asia. They even extended their frontiers under Amurath III., whose generals took Raab in Hungary on one side, and Tibris in Persia on the other. The janissaries, who were so formidable to their enemies, were no less so to their masters: but Amurath showed them that he was worthy to be their com-

mander. They came to him one day to demand the head of the tefterder, or high treasurer. They had already gathered in a tumultuous manner at the inner door of the seraglio, and even threatened the sultan himself. Amurath then ordered the doors to be flung open, and, followed by all the officers of his seraglio, he rushed upon them with his sabre in his hand, put several of them to death, and the rest fled and dispersed of their own accord; and this haughty militia afterward stood quiet spectators of the execution of the principal mutineers. But what soldiers are those who drive their masters to the necessity of fighting them? It was possible at times to suppress, but they never could be subjected, disciplined, or abolished, and frequently took upon themselves the disposal of the empire.

Mahomet III., Amurath's son, deserved more than any other sultan that the janissaries should exercise upon him the right they had arrogated to themselves of giving laws to their masters. He began his reign by strangling nineteen of his brothers, and ordering twelve of his father's wives, whom he suspected of being with child, to be drowned. Scarcely a murmur was heard in the nation, and none but the weak suffered. This monster of cruelty had a glorious and successful reign. He protected Transylvania against the emperor Rudolph II., who quitted the care of his dominions and the empire; he laid Hungary waste, and took Agria in person, in sight of the archduke Matthias;

and throughout his horrid reign maintained the grandeur of the Ottoman Empire.

During the reign of his son, Achmet I., from 1603 till 1631, everything went to ruin. The Turks were continually beaten by Shah Abbas, the great king of Persia, who took from them Tauris, the ancient theatre of the Turkish and Persian wars; drove them out of all their conquests, and freed Rudolph, Matthias, and Ferdinand II. from their fears. He fought for the Christians without knowing it. In 1615 Achmet concluded a shameful peace with the emperor Matthias, by which he restored him Agria, Canisa, Pest, and Alba Regalis, which his ancestors had conquered. Thus it is that fortune balances the events of the world. Thus you have seen the Turks checked in the progress of their victories over the empire and Venice, by Ussum Cassan and Sufi Ismail, and Constantinople saved by Tamerlane.

What passed after Achmet's death sufficiently shows us that the Turkish government is not that absolute monarchy which has been represented to us by historians, as the irresistible law of despotism. This power is, in the hands of the sultan, like a two-edged sword, which wounds its master if too weak to manage it. The empire was frequently, as Count Marsigli observes, a military democracy, which is still worse than arbitrary power. The order of succession was uncertain. The janissaries and the divan did not choose Achmet's son, Osman, for their

emperor in 1617, but Mustapha, the brother of Achmet. In less than two months they were tired of Mustapha, whom they declared incapable of reigning, and threw into prison; after which they proclaimed as emperor his young nephew, Osman, who was only twelve years of age, in whose name they reigned. Mustapha had still a party, though a prisoner. His faction persuaded the janissaries that young Osman had entertained a design of reducing their number, thereby to weaken their power.[1] On this pretext Osman was deposed in 1622, and shut up in the seven towers, whither the grand vizier, Daout, went in person and murdered his sovereign. Mustapha was a second time taken from his prison, acknowledged sovereign, and at the end of twelve

[1] Their pretence for mutinying was the sultan's design to leave Constantinople and make a pilgrimage to Mecca. He had actually begun to send his tents and treasures over into Asia, when the janissaries, assembling at the seraglio, called out for the sultan. On his appearing and asking the cause of the tumult, they told him he should not quit the city, and they demanded the heads of the prime vizier and others, as enemies to the government. Next day the vizier endeavoring to expostulate with them was cut in pieces. Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador at Constantinople, had desired this vizier, whose name was Delauir, to recommend him to the protection of the Kaimacan, or governor of the city, in case he (the vizier) should attend the sultan in his pilgrimage. To this request Delauir answered: "Give yourself no trouble, I shall leave one of my legs behind at your service." Accordingly, the prediction was verified; for in a few days one of his legs was actually hung up in the Hippodrome, near the house of the English ambassador.

months deposed again by the janissaries. Never had prince been treated with such ignominy since the time of Vitellius. He was led through the streets of Constantinople on an ass, exposed to the insults of the populace, then carried back to the seven towers, and there strangled.

Under Amurath IV., surnamed Gasi the Intrepid, everything again assumed a new face. He made himself respected by the janissaries, by employing them against the Persians, and leading them in person to battle. He took Erzerum from the Persians. Ten years afterward he made himself master of Bagdad by assault, which was the ancient Seleucia, capital of Mesopotamia, now called Diarbekir, and which, together with Erzerum, has ever since continued with the Turks. The Persians then thought that they had no other way of securing their frontiers but by laying waste thirty leagues of their own country beyond Bagdad, and making a barren solitude of the most fruitful tract of all Persia. Other nations defend their frontiers by fortresses; the Persians have defended theirs by deserts.

At the time that Amurath made himself master of Bagdad, he sent forty thousand men to the assistance of the great mogul, Shah Jehan, against his son, Aurung-Zeb. Had this torrent, which overflowed Asia, fallen upon Germany, at that time invaded by the Swedes and French, and rent in pieces at home, that empire would have run the risk of losing the glory of never having been subdued.

The Turks acknowledge that this victorious sultan had no other good quality but his courage; that he was cruel, and that his cruelty was heightened by his debauchery; a debauch of wine put an end to his life, and dishonored his memory.

His son Ibrahim, who succeeded him, had the same vices, and was a weak prince, and wholly void of courage; yet it was in his reign that the Turks conquered the Island of Candia, and that nothing remained for them to take but the capital and some few strong places, which held out for twenty-four years.

This island, so famous in antiquity for its laws, its arts, and even its fables, had been once before taken by the Mahometan Arabs, at the beginning of the ninth century, who built the city of Candia, which afterward gave its name to the whole island. They were driven out by the Greek emperors about eighty years afterward; but in the time of the Crusades, when the Latin princes, who had entered into a league to defend Constantinople, invaded the Greek Empire instead of protecting it, the Venetians were rich enough to purchase this island, and fortunate enough to keep it.

An adventure of an extraordinary and somewhat romantic kind first drew the Ottoman arms upon Candia. Six Maltese galleys having taken a large Turkish man-of-war, came to anchor with their prize in a small port of the island. It was said that one of the grand seignior's sons was on board the

Turkish ship. What gave some ground to this report was that the Kislar aga, or chief of the black eunuchs, attended by several officers of the seraglio, was on board, and that there was a child whom he served with great care and respect. This eunuch was slain in the engagement; the officers who survived affirmed that this child belonged to Sultan Ibrahim, and that his mother was sending him into Egypt. He was a long time treated at Malta as the sultan's son, in hopes of a ransom proportionate to his birth; however, the sultan never offered any ransom for him, either because he thought it beneath him to treat with the Knights of Malta, or because the prisoner was not really his son; upon which this pretended prince was slighted by the Maltese, and at length became a friar of the Dominican order, and was for a long time known by the name of the Ottoman father. The Dominicans have ever since boasted of having had the son of the sultan in their order.

The Porte not being able to avenge itself upon the Maltese, who from their inaccessible rocks defied all the Ottoman force, let fall the weight of its wrath upon the Venetians, accusing them of having infringed the treaty of peace, by suffering the Maltese to bring their prize into their harbor. In 1645 the Turkish fleet made a descent upon Candia, took Khania, and in a short time almost all the rest of the island.

Ibrahim had no share in this. The greatest things

have been sometimes done under the weakest princes. The janissaries were absolute masters of the empire in Ibrahim's reign; and if they made conquests they were for themselves and the state, and not for him. At length he was deposed by sentence of the mufti and the divan. The Turkish Empire was then a downright democracy, for after having shut up the sultan in his women's apartments, they proclaimed no other emperor, but the administration was carried on in the name of the sultan, though he no longer reigned.

Our historians pretend to tell us that Ibrahim was strangled by four mutes, from the false supposition that mutes are employed in executing the bloody orders of the seraglio; but they are only kept as buffoons or dwarfs, and never employed in any serious matters. We must, therefore, look upon this story only as a romantic tale; the Turkish annals take no notice of how he died; it was a secret of the seraglio. The many false stories which have been told us concerning the government of Turkey, which is so near to us, is sufficient to make us doubly cautious with regard to our belief of ancient history. How can we hope to learn anything certain concerning the ancient Scythians, Gomarians, and Celts, when we are so badly informed of what passes round about us? This may convince us that we ought to confine ourselves to public events in the history of nations, and not waste our time in fruitless researches into private circumstances, which

are not transmitted to us by ocular or well-vouched testimony.

By a singular fatality, this period, which proved so fatal to Ibrahim, was the same to almost all kings. The throne of Germany was shaken by the famous Thirty Years' War; France was laid waste by civil broils, and the mother of Louis XIV. was obliged to fly with her children from her capital. Charles I. was put to death in London by his own subjects. Philip IV. of Spain, after having lost all his possessions in Asia, lost Portugal likewise. The beginning of the seventeenth century was the time of usurpers from one end of the world to the other. England, Scotland, and Ireland were subdued by Cromwell. A rebel, named Listching, obliged the last emperor of the Chinese race to strangle his wife, his children, and himself, and opened the empire of China to the Tartarian conquerors. Aurung-Zeb revolted against his father in Mogulstan, left him to languish in prison, and enjoyed the fruits of his crimes in peace. The greatest of all tyrants, Muley Ismail, exercised the most shocking cruelties throughout the empire of Morocco. These two usurpers, Aurung-Zeb and Muley Ismail, lived the longest and most happily of all the kings of the earth. Each of their lives exceeded a hundred years. Cromwell, who was as wicked as themselves, did not live so long; but he reigned and died in peace. In running through the history of the world we find weakness punished, and powerful villainy

fortunate; and the universe one vast scene of rapine left to chance.

To return to the war of Candia; it resembled that of Troy. Sometimes the city was in danger from the Turks, and sometimes the Turks were pent up themselves in Canea, which they had made their magazine of arms. The Venetians never gave greater instances of their courage and resolution; they several times defeated the Turkish fleets. St. Mark's treasury was exhausted in raising troops. The troubles of the seraglio, and the irruptions of the Turks into Hungary, made the expedition against Candia go on but slowly for a time; but it was never wholly interrupted. At length, in 1667, Achmet Cuprogli, or Kiuperli, grand vizier to Mahomet IV., and son of a grand vizier, laid regular siege to Candia, which was defended by the captain-general Francesco Morosini, and St. André Montbrun, a French officer to whom the senate had given the command of its land forces

This city would never have been taken, had the Christian princes in any degree imitated the example of Louis XIV., who, in 1669, sent between six and seven thousand men to its assistance, under the command of the duke of Beaufort and the duke de Noailles. The port of Candia was always open; so that there was nothing to do but to send over forces sufficient to resist the janissaries. The duke of Beaufort, who, during the time of the Fronde acted a part rather more strange than illustrious,

went to attack the Turks in their trenches, at the head of the French nobility: but a magazine of powder and grenades happening to blow up in the trenches, frustrated this attempt. The French, thinking that the ground was mined beneath them, fled in disorder, and were closely pursued by the Turks. The duke of Beaufort was killed in this action, with several other French officers of distinction.

Louis XIV., though in alliance with the Ottoman Empire, openly assisted the Venetians, and afterward the Germans, against this empire, without the Turks seeming to be much displeased at it. It is not known what reason this monarch had for recalling his troops from Candia. The duke de Noailles, who had the command of them after the death of the duke of Beaufort, was persuaded that the place could not hold out against the Turks. The captain-general, Francesco Morosini, who had sustained this famous siege so long, might have quitted the ruined city without capitulating, and have retired by sea, of which he was still master: but by capitulating he still kept possession of some places in the island for his republic, and the capitulation was at the same time a treaty of peace. The vizier, Achmet Cuprogli, staked all his glory and that of the Ottoman Empire on taking Candia.

A peace was then concluded between the vizier and Morosini; and the city of Candia, reduced to a heap of ashes, and with only twenty sick Chris-

tians remaining in it, was given up to the Turks. Never had the Christians made a more honorable capitulation with the Mahometans; nor never were articles more exactly observed by conquerors. Morosini was allowed to carry off all the artillery which had been brought into Candia since the commencement of the siege. The vizier furnished boats for conveying those citizens who could not find room on board the Venetian vessels. He likewise presented the burgher who brought him the keys of the town with a purse of five hundred sequins, and two hundred more to those who accompanied him. The Turks and the Venetians visited each other like friends and neighbors, till the day the latter left the island.

Cuprogli, the conqueror of Candia, was one of the best generals and greatest ministers in Europe; and at the same time a just and humane man. He acquired immortal reputation in this long siege, at which, by the account of the Turks themselves, they lost two hundred thousand men.

The Morosinis — for there were four of that name in the besieged town — the Cornaros, the Giustinianis, the Benzonis, the marquis of St. André Montbrun, and the marquis of Frontenac rendered their names illustrious throughout Europe. It is not without reason that this war has been compared to that of Troy. The grand vizier had a Greek about him who deserved the surname of Ulysses; he was called Payanotos. Prince Cantemir tells us that

this Greek brought the Council of Candia to capitulate by a stratagem worthy of Ulysses. The besieged were in daily expectation of some ships from France with provisions. Payanotos made several of the Turkish ships hoist French colors, and sent them out to sea in the night time; the next day they sailed back into the road where the Ottoman fleet was lying, who received them with a general shout of joy. Payanotos, who was treating with the council of war of Candia, persuaded them that the French king had deserted the republic in favor of the Turks, whose ally he was; and this stratagem hastened the capitulation. Captain-General Morosini was accused in open senate of having betrayed the republic. However, he was defended as strongly as he was accused. Here is another conformity between this state and the ancient republics of Greece and Rome, especially the latter. Morosini sufficiently cleared his character afterward by taking Peloponnesus, now called the Morea, from the Turks, a conquest which Venice enjoyed but a very short time. This great man died doge, and left behind him a reputation which will last as long as the republic, which he so eminently served.

SABATEI-SEVI, WHO ASSUMED THE CHARACTER OF MESSIAH.

During the war of Candia there happened an event among the Turks which attracted the attention of all Europe and Asia. A general rumor had

prevailed, founded on idle curiosity, that the year 1666 was to be the epoch of a great revolution in the world. This opinion took its rise from the mystical number 666, which is found in Revelation. Never was the attempt of Antichrist so universal. The Jews on their side pretended that this was the year in which their Messiah was to be born.

A Jew of Smyrna, named Sabatei-Sevi, a man of tolerable learning, and son of a rich broker of the English factory, took advantage of this general prepossession, and declared himself to be the Messiah. He was eloquent, had an engaging figure, affected great modesty, preached justice, delivered himself with the air of an oracle, and declared everywhere that the fulness of time was come. He travelled at first into Greece and Italy. He ran away with a young girl at Leghorn, whom he brought with him to Jerusalem, where he began to harangue his brethren. One of his disciples, called Nathan, offered to act the part of Elias, while Sabatei assumed the character of the Messiah. These two reformed the synagogue at Jerusalem. Nathan explained the prophets, and clearly proved that before the end of the year the sultan would be dethroned, and Jerusalem become the mistress of the world. All the Jews of Syria became proselytes to them. The synagogues resounded with the ancient predictions: they relied on the words of Isaiah: "Arise, Jerusalem, arise in thy strength and in thy glory; there shall be no more uncircum-

cised nor impure persons among you." All the rabbins had this passage in their mouths: "Thither shall your brethren be sent for from all parts of the world to Jerusalem, even to the holy mountain; they shall come in chariots, and in litters, and on mules, and in wagons." In short, a hundred similar sentences, which were repeated by the women and children, kept up these idle hopes. There was not a single Jew but made preparations for lodging in his house one of the old ten tribes which had been dispersed; and the prepossession was so strong that these people everywhere neglected their trades, and kept in readiness to make a journey to Jerusalem.

Nathan made choice of twelve persons in Damascus, to preside over the twelve tribes. Sabatei-Sevi took a journey to Smyrna, to show himself to the brethren there. During his residence in that city, Nathan wrote to him in this style: "King of kings, lord of lords, when shall we be worthy to lie down in the shadow of your ass? I prostrate myself to be trampled beneath the sole of your feet." Sabatei deposed certain doctors of the law who refused to own him, and placed others more tractable in their room. One of the most violent of his enemies, called Samuel Pennia, was publicly converted to him, and acknowledged him to be the Son of God. Sabatei, having one day presented himself before the cadi of Smyrna, with a crowd of his followers, everyone affirmed that they saw a column of fire

between him and the cadi. Some few miracles of the same nature confirmed the authority of his mission. Several Jews brought their gold and jewels, and laid them at his feet.

The pasha of Smyrna resolved to have him seized; but Sabatei departed for Constantinople with the most zealous of his disciples. The grand vizier, Cuprogli, who was then setting out for the siege of Candia, sent to take him out of the ship that was carrying him over to Constantinople, and ordered him to be thrown into prison. The Jews easily obtained entrance into the prison by paying for it, as is the custom in Turkey, and came in crowds to prostrate themselves at his feet, and kiss his chains. He spent his time in preaching to, exhorting, and blessing them, without uttering the least complaint. The Jews of Constantinople, persuaded that the coming of the Messiah would abolish all debts, refused to pay their creditors. The English merchants of Galata bethought themselves of paying a visit to Sabatei in his prison, and told him that, as king of the Jews it behooved him to order his subjects to pay their debts. Sabatei thereupon wrote in these terms to those who were complained against: "To you who wait for the salvation of Israel: discharge your lawful debts, otherwise you shall not partake of our joy, nor enter with us into our kingdom."

Sabatei's prison was entirely filled with those who came to worship him. The Jews began to raise

some disturbances in Constantinople. The people were in general very much displeased with Mahomet IV. It was feared that the prediction of the Jews would occasion some commotions. It seemed likely that so strict a government as that of the Turks would have put any person to death who had called himself king of Israel; however, they contented themselves with removing Sabatei to the castle of the Dardanelles. The Jews at that time thought it was not in the power of man to take away his life.

His fame had reached into all the countries of Europe; he was received at the Dardanelles by deputies from the Jews of Poland, Germany, Leghorn, Venice, and Amsterdam, who paid dearly for permission to kiss his feet, and this is probably what saved his life. The Holy Land was quietly divided by him and his followers in the prison. At length the noise of his miracles was so great that Sultan Mahomet had a curiosity to see this man, and put some questions to him himself. Accordingly this king of the Jews was brought to the seraglio. The sultan asked him in the Turkish language if he was the Messiah. Sabatei modestly replied that he was. But as he spoke the Turkish language very incorrectly, Mahomet told him that he spoke very badly for a Messiah, who ought to have the gift of tongues. "Dost thou perform miracles," continued the sultan. "Sometimes," answered Sabatei. "Well then," said the emperor, "let him be instantly stripped naked; he shall be placed as a

mark for my Ichoglans to shoot their arrows at; and if he is invulnerable, we will acknowledge him as the Messiah." Sabatei, hearing this, immediately fell upon his kness and confessed that this was a miracle which exceeded his power. He then had his choice of being empaled alive, or of turning Mussulman, and going publicly to mosque. He was not long hesitating, but instantly embraced the Turkish religion. He then declared that he had been sent to substitute the Turkish religion in room of the Jewish, according to the ancient prophecies. Notwithstanding this, the Jews of the more distant parts continued to believe in him for a long time; and this scene, which passed without any bloodshed, increased the shame and confusion of this nation.

Some time after the Jews had met with this disgrace in the Ottoman Empire, the Christians of the Latin Church underwent a mortification of a different kind: they had hitherto always kept possession of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, by means of the money they were supplied with by several of the princes of their communion, especially the king of Spain. But that Payanotos, who had concluded the treaty for the delivery of Candia, obtained of the grand vizier, Achmet Cuprogli, that the Greek Church should thenceforward have the custody of all the holy places about Jerusalem. The religious of the Latin Church opposed this by formal process. The affair was pleaded first before the cadi of Jerusalem, and afterward in the great divan of

Constantinople, who declared the pretension of the Greek Church to be justly founded, as Jerusalem had been within its district before the time of the Crusades. The pains the Turks took to inquire into the claims and rights of their Christian subjects, and the permission they gave them of exercising their religion in the very place where it was first formed, is a very striking example of a government at once cruel and indulgent. When the Greeks attempted, by virtue of the sentence of the divan, to enter into possession, these very Latins made resistance, and some lives were lost on the occasion. The government punished no one with death: a fresh proof of the humanity of Cuprogli, who set several examples that have seldom been followed. One of his predecessors, in 1638, ordered the famous Greek patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril, to be strangled upon the repeated complaints of those of his Church. The mildness or cruelty of an administration everywhere depends upon the character of those who govern.

CHAPTER CLXI.

PROGRESS OF THE TURKS — THE SIEGE OF VIENNA.

THE torrent of the Ottoman power did not only overspread Candia and the islands belonging to the Venetian republic, but it likewise frequently penetrated into Poland and Hungary. Mahomet IV. marched in person against the Poles, under pretence

of protecting the Cossacks, who had been ill-treated by them. He took from them the Ukraine, Podolia, Volhynia, and the city of Kamenetz; and would not make peace with them till, in 1672, they had agreed to pay him an annual tribute of twenty thousand crowns, from which John Sobieski soon afterward set them free.

The Turks had suffered Hungary to breathe during the Thirty Years' War which overturned Germany. From 1541 they had been in possession of both sides of the Danube, to Buda, inclusive. The conquests of Amurath IV. in Persia had prevented him from turning his arms toward Germany. All Transylvania belonged to princes whom Ferdinand II. and III. were obliged to keep fair with, and who were tributaries to the Turks. What remained of Hungary enjoyed its liberty. It was not so in the time of the emperor Leopold: Upper Hungary and Transylvania were the theatres of revolutions, wars, and devastation.

Of all the people who have passed under our review in the course of this history, none appear to have been more miserable than the Hungarians. Their country, which was depopulated, poor, and distracted between the Catholic and Protestant factions, and several others, was at the time overrun by the armies of the Turks and the empire. It is said that Ragotski, prince of Transylvania, was the first cause of all these misfortunes; he was a tributary to the Porte, and by refusing to pay his tribute, drew

the Ottoman arms upon him. The emperor Leopold sent a body of troops to oppose the Turks, under the command of Montecuculi, who was afterward a rival of the famous Turenne. Louis XIV. likewise sent six thousand men to the assistance of the emperor of Germany, his natural enemy. They had a share in the famous battle of St. Gothard, in 1663, in which Montecuculi beat the Turks. But, notwithstanding this victory, the Ottoman Empire made an advantageous peace, in 1664, by which it kept Buda, and even Neuhausel and Transylvania.

The Hungarians, after being delivered from the Turks, endeavored in the next place to defend their liberties against the emperor Leopold, who respected no privileges but those of his own crown. New troubles now broke forth; young Emeric Tekeli, a Hungarian nobleman, who had the blood of his friends and relations to avenge, which had been shed by the court of Vienna, prevailed on that part of Hungary which was under the dominion of the emperor Leopold to revolt, and put himself under the protection of Mahomet IV., who made him king of Upper Hungary. The Ottoman Porte at that time gave four crowns to Christian princes, namely, those of Upper Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia.

The blood of the Hungarian noblemen of Tekeli's party, which had been spilled by the hands of the common executioner at Vienna, had well nigh cost Leopold and his family Vienna and Austria. Kara

Mustapha, who succeeded Achmet Cuprogli as prime minister, was ordered by Mahomet IV. to attack the emperor, under pretence of avenging Tekeli. The sultan came and assembled his army in the plains of Adrianopolis, and it was one of the largest that the Turks had ever sent into the field. It consisted of more than one hundred thousand regular troops, about thirty thousand Crim Tartars, which, together with the volunteers, those who served the artillery, those who had care of the baggage and provisions, the workmen of all kinds, and the servants, made in all fully three hundred thousand men. The whole kingdom of Hungary was hardly sufficient to furnish provisions for this multitude. Kara Mustapha met with no opposition in his march, and advanced without resistance to the very gates of Vienna, and immediately laid siege to the city, July 16, 1683.

Count Staremberg, who was governor of the city, had a garrison whose proper establishment was one thousand six hundred men, of which not above half were effective. The burghers who remained in the town were all armed; and even the university itself, the professors and the students, mounted guard; and their commanding officer was a physician. The retreat of the emperor Leopold increased the general alarm; he had withdrawn from Vienna on July 7, with the empress his mother-in-law, his wife, and all the family. Vienna, which was very badly fortified, could not hold out long. The Turkish annals

say that Kara Mustapha had formed the design of setting up a new empire in Vienna and Hungary, independent of the sultan; and that having entertained a notion that there must be immense treasures in a place which was the residence of the German emperors, he for that reason did not push the siege so vigorously as he ought to have done, fearing that if the city should be taken by assault, the general plunder would deprive him of part of these imaginary riches. He never gave a general assault, though there were many large breaches in the place, and though he knew the town to be without any hopes of assistance. This infatuation in the grand vizier, together with his luxury and effeminacy, saved Vienna, which otherwise must have fallen. It gave time to John Sobieski, king of Poland, to come to its assistance, and to Charles V., duke of Lorraine, and the princes of the empire to assemble an army. The janissaries murmured; and faintheartedness succeeding to indignation, they cried out, "Approach, infidels, you have only to show your hats, and we shall fly."

This was actually the case; for no sooner had the king of Poland and the duke of Lorraine descended from the mountain of Kalenberg, than the Turks took to flight, Sept. 12, 1683, without striking a blow. Kara Mustapha, who thought to find such great riches in Vienna, left all his own in Sobieski's power, and on his return home was strangled. Tekeli, who had been made king by this vizier, being

soon after suspected by the Ottoman Porte of carrying on a private correspondence with the emperor of Germany, was apprehended by the new vizier, and sent in chains to Constantinople. The Turks lost almost all Hungary.

The reign of Mahomet IV. was no longer famous but for its disgraces; in 1687 Morosini took all Peloponnesus, which was of much greater value than Candia. The bombs of the Venetian army destroyed several ancient monuments which the Turks had still left standing, and amongst others the famous temple of Athens, dedicated to "The Unknown Gods." The janissaries, who attributed all their misfortunes to the sultan, resolved to depose him. The governor of Constantinople, Mustapha Cuprogli, the xerif of St. Sophia's mosque, and the nakif or keeper of Mahomet's standard, went in a body to signify to the sultan that he must resign the throne, for such was the will of the nation. The sultan spoke a long time in justification of himself; but the nakif told him, in the people's name, to abdicate the empire, and leave it to his brother Solyman. Thereupon Mahomet replied, "God's will be done, since His anger has fallen upon my head; go and tell my brother that God declares His will by the voice of the people."

Most of our historians pretend that Mahomet IV. was killed by the janissaries; but the Turkish annals testify that he lived five years after being shut up in the seraglio. Mustapha Cuprogli served

as grand vizier under Solyman III. He retook part of Hungary, and in some measure restored the reputation of the Ottoman Empire; but since that time the limits of this empire have never come beyond Belgrade or Temeswaer. The sultans retained Candia, but they did not recover the Peloponnesus till 1715. The famous battles which were fought between Prince Eugene and the Turks have shown that they are to be beaten, but not that much advantage can be gained over them.

This government, which is described as so arbitrary and despotic, appears to have been so only under Mahomet II., Solyman, and Selim, who made everything give way to their wills: but under almost all the other emperors, especially those of late years, you will find the government of Constantinople to be the same as that of Algiers and Tunis; you see that in 1703 Mustapha II. was formally deposed by the militia and citizens of Constantinople. They did not even choose one of his sons to succeed him, but his brother Achmet III. This Achmet himself was condemned in 1730 by the janissaries and the people to resign the sovereign authority to his nephew, Mahmoud, and obeyed without resistance, after having sacrificed his grand vizier and his principal officers to the resentment of the nation. These are the absolute sovereigns so much talked of.[1] It is imagined that a man is by the laws pos-

[1] Despotism in a prince must either depend on the most explicit obedience in the people, or on the power of

sessed of despotic power over half the world, because he can with impunity commit some crimes in his own family, and order a few slaves to be murdered; but he cannot persecute the nation, and is much oftener oppressed than oppressive.

There is a great contradiction in the manners of the Turks; they are at once brutal and charitable; covetous, yet never guilty of theft; their idle manner of living never leads them either to gaming or intemperance; very few of them use their privilege of having a number of wives, and enjoying several slaves; and there is not a great city in Europe where there are less prostitutes. Invincibly attached to their own religion, they hate and despise the Christians, and look upon them as idolaters; and yet they suffer, and even protect them throughout the empire and in their capital; they permit them to make processions in the vast quarter which is set apart for them in Constantinople; and four janissaries march before the procession through all the streets, to preserve them from insults. The Turks are haughty, they know nothing of nobility; they

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the sword; but both these supports will sometimes fail, especially in a fierce and barbarous nation. The people may be oppressed into rebellion, and the troops incensed into revolt. In either case, the nature of the government is out of the question. The revolution that ensues is the effect of violence, and by no means owing to any established law or fundamental constitution; consequently the despotism of a sultan is no proof that the government is not absolute; it proves no more, than that the executive part of that government has revolted against the head.

are brave, but have not adopted the custom of duelling. This is a good quality, which they have in common with all the Asiatics, which arises from their never bearing arms but when they go to war. This was also the custom with the Greeks and Romans, and the contrary practice was introduced among Christians only in the times of barbarism and chivalry, when it was made a point of duty and honor to walk abroad with spurs at their heels, and to sit at table, or say their prayers, with swords by their sides. The Christian nobility was distinguished by this custom, which was soon followed, as I have already observed, by the scum of the people, and placed in the rank of those follies which do not appear such because we are familiar with them.

CHAPTER CLXII.

PERSIA AND ITS MANNERS; THE LATE REVOLUTION IN THAT EMPIRE; AND THAMAS KOULI-KHAN, OR SHAH NADIR.

PERSIA was at that time more civilized than Turkey; the arts were more honored there, the manners were less brutal, and the general police better observed. This was not merely the effect of climate; the Arabians had cultivated the arts there for more than five centuries. It was they who built Ispahan, Chiras, Kasbin, Kashan, and several other great cities: the Turks, on the contrary, did not build one, but suffered several to fall to ruin. Persia was twice

subdued by the Tartars after the reign of the Arabian caliphs, but the conquerors did not abolish the arts; and the family of the Sufis, during their reign, introduced that gentleness of manners which they had brought with them from Armenia, where they had long resided. Handicraft works were in general thought to be better executed and more finished in Persia than in Turkey. The sciences met with much greater encouragement there; for there was hardly a city without established colleges, in which the belles-lettres were taught. The Persian language, which is softer and more harmonious than that of the Turks, has been very fruitful in poetical productions. They acknowledge the ancient Greeks for their masters in the sciences, who indeed were the first preceptors to Europe. Accordingly we find that the Persian philosophy, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was much the same as ours. Astrology was the growth of their country; and they were much more addicted to it than any other people in the world, as has been already remarked. The custom of distinguishing lucky days by a white mark, and unlucky ones by a black one, has been scrupulously preserved among them; this was a common practice with the Romans, who took it from the Asiatic nations. The peasants of our French provinces are not more strict in observing the proper days for sowing and planting pointed out in their almanacs, than were the courtiers of Ispahan in observing the favorable or unfavorable

hours for beginning any business. The Persians, like many of our nations, abounded in understanding and errors. Some travellers have affirmed that this country is not so well peopled as it might be. It is very probable, that in the time of the Magi it was both better peopled and more fertile; agriculture was then a part of their religion; it is, of all other professions, that which requires the most numerous family, and which, by preserving health and strength, enables a man more easily to bring up a number of children.

Nevertheless Ispahan, before the last revolutions in Persia, was as large and as populous as London. The city of Tauris was reckoned to contain more than five hundred thousand inhabitants. Kashan was thought to be about equal to Lyons. It is impossible that a city should be well peopled, if the surrounding country is not, unless that city subsists wholly by foreign trade. We have at best but a very uncertain idea of the population of Turkey, Persia, and the other states of Asia, excepting that of China; but it is indubitable, that every civilized country that can raise large armies, and which abounds in manufactures must have a necessary number of inhabitants.

The court of Ispahan was much more magnificent than that of Constantinople. We imagine we are reading a relation in Xerxes' time, when we meet, in the accounts of our travellers, with horses covered with rich brocades, and their harness glittering

with gold and precious stones, and the four thousand gold vases which Chardin tells were used at the king of Persia's table. Common things in life, especially eatables, were three times as cheap at Ispahan and Constantinople as they are with us. This cheapness is a mark of plenty; travellers, such as Chardin, who have been well acquainted with the country, do not pretend to tell us that all the lands belong to the king. They own that there are there, as in all other countries, demesnes belonging to the king, lands set apart for the clergy, and estates which belong by right to individuals, which are transmitted from father to son.

All the accounts we have of Persia confirm to us, that there is no monarchical state where the privileges of society are more enjoyed. The people there have more resources against melancholy, which is the poison of life, than any other nation of the East; they assembled together in spacious rooms, which they call coffee-houses, where some amused themselves with drinking that liquor which did not come into vogue with us till toward the end of the seventeenth century. Others talked or read; and others listened to the tellers of stories; while at one end of the room a priest was preaching for a trifling sum of money, and at the other end a class of men who make an art of amusing others were displaying their talents. These are all marks of a sociable people, who deserved to have been happy; and it is said that they were so under the reign of Shah

Abbas, called the Great. This pretended great man was very cruel; but there are examples of men of a brutal disposition who have loved order and the good of the commonweal. A tyrant exercises his cruelty only upon those who are more immediately under his eye, and this very tyrant may, by his laws, sometimes prove a benefactor to the country in general.

Shah Abbas, who was a descendant of Sufi Ismail, got possession of despotic power by destroying a militia, which was much the same as that of the janissaries and the Prætorian guards. It was thus that Czar Peter, in order to establish his power, destroyed the strelitzes in Russia. We may observe in all countries, that the throne is strengthened by troops divided into small bodies; and that on the contrary, those troops united in one great body, have frequently disposed of the throne, and even subverted it. Shah Abbas transported the inhabitants of one country into another, which is what the Turks never have done. These colonies seldom succeed. Of thirty thousand Christian families, which Shah Abbas transported out of Armenia and Georgia, into Mazanderan, by the Caspian Sea, there are but five hundred at present remaining: but he built several public edifices, rebuilt many towns, and raised some useful foundations. He retook from the Turks all that Solyman and Selim had conquered from Persia. He drove the Portuguese out of Ormus. By all these acts he gained the name of

"Great." He died in 1629. His son Shah Sufi, who was still more cruel than Shah Abbas, and not so good a soldier or politician, and who was stupefied in debauchery, had an unhappy reign. The Grand Mogul, Shah Jehan, took Kandahar from the Persians, and Amurath IV. took Bagdad by assault in 1638.

Since that time you may perceive the Persian monarchy visibly declining, till at length the effeminacy of the dynasty of the Sufis completed its ruin. The eunuchs governed both the seraglio and the empire, under Sufi, Musa, and Hussein, the last of that race. It is the greatest debasement to human nature, and the particular scandal of the East, to deprive men of their virility; and it is the highest stretch of despotism to trust the reins of government in the hands of such wretches: wherever they have had great power, the decline and ruin of that state has been the inevitable consequences.

Shah Hussein's weakness reduced the empire to so languid a state, and it was moreover so violently distracted by the factions of the black and white eunuchs, that this dynasty must have fallen of itself, even had it not been destroyed by Mir-Weis and his Aguans. It has been the fate of Persia, that all its dynasties rose by strength, and were overturned by weakness. Almost all its royal families had the fate of Sardanapalus. These Aguans, who overturned the Persian state in the beginning of the present century, were an ancient colony of Tartars, inhabit-

ing the mountains of Kandahar, between India and Persia. Almost all the revolutions which have changed the fate of these countries have been occasioned by Tartars. The Persians had retaken Kandahar from the Mogul, in 1650, under Shah Abbas II. This proved their misfortune. Shah Hussein's minister used the Aguans ill; Mir-Weis, who was no more than a private person, but of a courageous and enterprising spirit, put himself at their head.

This was also one of those revolutions in which the character of the people, by whom it was brought about, had a greater share than the characters of their leaders; for Mir-Weis having been assassinated, had his place filled by another barbarian, named Mahmud, who was his own nephew, and no more than eighteen years old. It was not likely that this young man could do much of himself, or that he could manage these troops of undisciplined mountaineers, as our generals conduct regular armies. Hussein's government had fallen into contempt, and the province of Kandahar having begun the insurrection, the provinces of Caucasus on the side of Georgia revolted also. At length Mahmud laid siege to Ispahan in 1722. Shah Hussein gave up the capital to him, abdicated the kingdom at his feet, and acknowledged him as his master, and thought himself happy that Mahmud would condescend to marry his daughter.

In all the scenes of human cruelty and miseries which have fallen under our observation, since the

time of Charlemagne, there is not any so horrible as the consequences which attended the revolution in Persia. Mahmud thought there was no other way to confirm his power, but by putting to death the principal citizens, with their families. The whole kingdom of Persia has been for these last thirty years what Germany was before the Peace of Westphalia, France in the time of Charles, and England in the Wars of the Roses. But Persia had fallen from a more flourishing state into a greater abyss of misfortunes.

Religion had also a share in these calamities. The Aguans were followers of Omar, and the Persians of Ali; and this Mahmud, who was chief of the Aguans, mixed the most despicable superstition with the most detestable cruelties. He died mad in 1725, after having laid Persia waste. A fresh usurper of the Aguan nation succeeded him, called Asraf. The desolation of Persia now redoubled on all sides. The Turks overran it on the side of Georgia, the ancient Colchis. The Russians fell upon its provinces to the northwest of the Caspian Sea, as far as the gates of Derbent, in the country of Shervan, which was the ancient Iberia and Albania. We are not told what became of the dethroned Shah Hussein during all these troubles. This prince is known only by having served in a time of misery of his country.

One of this emperor's sons, named Thamas, who had escaped the massacre of the imperial family,

still found some faithful subjects, who gathered about him in Taurus. Times of civil wars and commotions always produce extraordinary men, who would have remained unnoticed in peaceable times. A shepherd's son [1] became the protector of Thamas,

[1] According to the account published by Mr. Fraser, who resided many years in Persia, and perfectly understood the language of the country, Nadir-Kouli — for so he was called — was son of the chief of a clan of the Ussha tribe, and governor of a fortress in the province of Khorasan. His uncle, having in his minority usurped this government, Nadir-Kouli entered into the service of the governor of Mushad. He commanded in an expedition against the Tartars, who had made an irruption into Khorasan, and obtained a complete victory over them. Instead of being rewarded for this important service, he had the mortification to see a courtier put over his head, and when he expostulated with the governor of Mushad on this injustice, he received the bastinado, and was turned out of the service. Then he retired to the place of his nativity, where he met with a very cold reception from his uncle and other relatives, and, being reduced to indigence, robbed on the highway. He conducted himself in this occupation with such address, that in a little time his gang amounted to five hundred choice men in arms, with whom he laid the whole country under contribution. He was afterward joined by fifteen hundred men, under the command of Sif O'denbeg, a general in the army of Shah Thamas, which he abandoned on receiving intimation that his sovereign intended to take away his life. Nadir-Kouli was now so formidable that his uncle made advances to him, and even procured his pardon from Shah Thamas, on condition that he should enter into the service of his sovereign. In consequence of this reconciliation, he was feasted in the fortress, the government of which was his hereditary right; and he took that opportunity of seizing the place, after having assassinated the uncle; thus he became master of

and the support of that throne which he afterward usurped. This man, who had raised himself to the rank of the greatest conquerors, was called Nadir. He kept his father's sheep in the plains of Khora-

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all the adjacent country. Shah Thamas being threatened with immediate ruin, hemmed in by the Afghans on one side, and the Turks on the other, thought proper to make use of Nadir-Kouli, whom he once more pardoned, and admitted into his service. Though Nadir acted in an inferior station, he soon stemmed the tide of the Turkish success, which had been for some time uninterrupted. He repulsed them on several occasions, and ingratiated himself with his prince to such a degree that he was declared general of the Persian army in 1728. He now displayed great military talents, defeated the enemy in various engagements, and obtained a great victory over the Afghans, which was so agreeable to Shah Thamas that, as the greatest honor he could confer on his general, he complimented him with his own name; so that from this period he was called Thamas Kouli-Khan, which signifies Lord Thomas. He now demanded the power of levying money throughout the whole kingdom for the payment of the army; a power, which as it rendered him absolute, Shah Thamas granted with great reluctance. He moreover appointed him generalissimo and governor of Khorasan, and gave him his own aunt in marriage. In return for these favors he, in a little time, deposed his prince, on pretence that he had made a scandalous peace with the Turks; and confined him in Tabustan, under a guard of six thousand Afghans. His next step was to seat upon the throne the infant son of Shah Thamas, who was now declared king by the appellation of Shah Abbas III. Immediately after this revolution, he marched against the Turkish general, Topal Othman Pasha, whose army amounted to sixty thousand men, and routed it with great slaughter, the pasha himself having been slain in the beginning of the action. He continued to reduce place after place, until

san, a part of the ancient Hyrcania and Bactria. We must not figure to ourselves these shepherds the same as ours. The pastoral life, which has been preserved in several countries in Asia, is not without its opulence. The tents of some of these rich

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the Turks were stripped of all their conquests: he obliged the Russians to evacuate the places they had taken in Persia, and concluded peace with both. Having thus restored the tranquillity of the kingdom, he summoned all the rulers of provinces, chiefs of tribes, and governors of cities, to attend him on a certain day, when they came, to the number of six thousand, and found him encamped on a plain, at the head of an army amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand men. He told them he had now re-established the peace of his country, and intended to spend the rest of his days in retirement; he therefore desired that they would elect a prince capable of governing them, and deliberate three days upon the choice. In the meantime, his emissaries gave them to understand that it would be for their own interest, and that of their country, to make him a tender of the crown. The hint was taken, and he accepted the offer on the three following conditions: That the crown should be rendered hereditary in his family; that no person, on pain of death and confiscation, should take arms in favor of the dethroned family, on any pretence whatsoever; and that in point of religion, a coalition should be effected between the sects of Ali and the Sunni. The chief priest remonstrating against this third article, Kouli-Khan ordered him to be strangled immediately: then the electors and the people agreed to what he had proposed, and took the oath of allegiance; and he was, in March, 1737, proclaimed emperor of Persia, by the name of Nadir Shah. Perceiving that he had made the clergy his enemies, he seized their lands and revenues for the payment of his army, and published an edict, ordering all his subjects to conform to the Sunni religion, on pain of his royal displeasure.

shepherds are of much greater value than the houses of some of our best farmers. Nadir sold several large flocks belonging to his father, and with the money put himself at the head of a troop of banditti; a thing which is still very common in those countries, where the people have retained the manners of antiquity. He offered himself and his troop to Thamas; and by dint of ambition, courage, and activity, rose to the command of an army. He then took the name of Thamas Kouli-Khan, or Khan Thamas's slave; but the slave was the master under this prince, who was as weak and effeminate as his father, Hussein. He retook Ispahan and all Persia; pursued the new king Asraf, as far as Kandahar; overcame and took him prisoner, in 1729, and caused his head to be struck off, after having first plucked out his eyes.

Kouli-Khan having thus replaced Thamas on the throne of his ancestors, and put it in his power to be ungrateful, resolved to prevent his being so, and shut him up in the capital of Khorasan. He still continued to act under the name of the prince he kept a prisoner. He made war upon the Turk, well knowing that his power was to be strengthened only by those means by which he first acquired it. He beat the Turks at Erivan, retook all that country, and secured his conquests by making a peace with the Russians. And now, in 1736, he caused himself to be declared king of Persia, under the name of Shah Nadir. On this occasion he did not forget the

old custom of putting out the eyes of those who had any title to the throne, which piece of cruelty he practised upon his own sovereign, Shah Thamas. The same armies that had served to desolate Persia now assisted in rendering her formidable to her neighbors. Kouli-Khan put the Turks to flight several times. At length he made an honorable peace with them, by which they restored to him all that they had ever taken from the Persians, excepting Bagdad and its territories.

Kouli-Khan, loaded with crimes and glory, proceeded next to make the conquest of India, as we shall see in the following chapter. On his return to his own country, he found a party formed for the princes of the royal family who were still in being; and in the midst of these new commotions he was assassinated by his own nephew, like Mir-Weis, the first author of the revolution. Persia then became once more the theatre of civil wars. So many devastations destroyed commerce and the arts in this country, by destroying a part of the inhabitants; but where the land is fruitful and the nation industrious, everything is repaired again in the end.

CHAPTER CLXIII.

THE MOGUL.

THIS prodigious variety of manners, customs, laws, and revolutions, which have all the same principle of interest, constitutes the historical picture of the universe. We have not seen, either in Persia or Turkey, a son in rebellion against his father. In India you behold the two sons of the great mogul, Jehan-Geer, making war successively against their father, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. One of these princes, named Shah Jehan, made himself master of the empire in 1627, after the death of his father, Jehan-Geer, in prejudice of a grandson whom he had left his successor. The order of succession was not settled by law in Asia, as it is in the European nations. These people had one source of evils more than we.

Shah Jehan, who had rebelled against his father, in the end saw his children rise up against him. It is difficult to comprehend how sovereigns, who could not hinder their own children from raising armies against them, could be so absolute as some would persuade us they are. India appears to have been governed nearly in the same manner as the kingdoms of Europe at the time of the great fiefs. The governors of the provinces of Hindostan were masters in their own governments, and viceroyalties were given to the emperor's children. This must

manifestly be an eternal subject of civil wars: accordingly, as soon as Shah Jehan began to decline in his health, his four children, who had each the command of a province, took up arms for the succession. They agreed in dethroning their father, and made war on one another. Exactly the same thing happened here as did to Louis the Feeble, or the Débonnaire. The most wicked of the four brothers, Aurung-Zeb, proved the most fortunate.

The same hypocrisy remarked in Cromwell was found in this Indian prince, together with the same dissimulation and cruelty, but with a more unnatural heart. He at first joined with one of his brothers, and made himself master of the person of his father, Shah Jehan, whom he kept ever afterward in prison; he then assassinated this very brother whom he had made use of, as a dangerous instrument which he was now resolved to get rid of; after which he pursued his other two brothers, whom he conquered, and caused to be strangled one after another.

The old emperor, however, was still living, but was kept under the most rigorous confinement by his son Aurung-Zeb; and his name was often made use of as a pretext for carrying on plots against the tyrant. At length, his father being taken with a slight indisposition, he sent his own physician to attend him, and the old man died. It was generally believed throughout Asia, that Aurung-Zeb had poisoned him. No man was ever a stronger instance

that success is not the reward of virtue. This man, stained with the blood of his brothers, and guilty of his father's death, succeeded in all his undertakings, and died in 1707, after having attained the age of nearly one hundred.[1] Never had any prince a longer or more fortunate career. He added to the mogul's empire, the kingdoms of Vasapour and Golconda, all the country of Karnatic, and almost the whole of that great isthmus which confines the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. This man, who would have suffered the most ignominious death, had he been tried by the common laws of nations, was, without contradiction, the most powerful prince in the universe.

The magnificence of the kings of Persia, dazzling as it may appear to us, was only the attempt of a middling court, to show something like splendor, in comparison with the riches of Aurung-Zeb.

In all times the Asiatic princes have accumulated

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[1] His three brothers were called Dara-cha, Morat-Bakchi, and Sultan-Sujah. His elder brother, Dara-cha, after having been defeated by him in a bloody battle, was betrayed into his hands and beheaded. He imprisoned Morat-Bakchi in the fortress of Gonateor, and Sultan-Sujah fled into the kingdom of Arakan. Aurung-Zeb resembled Oliver Cromwell in his superstition, as well as in his perfidy and ambition; for, when he ascended the throne, he imposed a penance on himself for the expiation of his crimes. He lived on barley bread, herbs, and sweetmeats, and drank nothing but water. This temperance, no doubt, contributed to his longevity, though he never reached the age of one hundred.

treasures, their riches consisting in what they can heap up; whereas the wealth of the European princes consists in the money that circulates in their dominions. The treasure amassed by Tamerlane was still in being, and his successors had been continually adding to it. Aurung-Zeb increased it by most astonishing riches. One of his thrones only was valued by Tavernier at one hundred and sixty millions of the money of his time, which is more than three hundred millions of the present currency. The canopy of his throne was supported by twelve pillars of gold, surrounded with large pearls. The canopy itself was of pearls and diamonds, and at the top was a peacock, who spread a tail of precious stones: all the rest was in proportion to this astonishing magnificence. The greatest festival of the year was that day on which the emperor was weighed in a pair of golden scales in presence of the people, and on this day he received presents to the amount of over fifty millions.

If ever climate influenced the manners of men, it is assuredly that of India. The emperors display the same luxury, and lead the same effeminate lives as those Indian kings mentioned by Quintus Curtius; and the Tartars, who conquered this country, have sensibly adopted the same manners and become Indians.

All this excess of opulence and luxury only served to make the state more unhappy. In 1739, the same thing happened to Mahmud, Aurung-Zeb's grand-

son, as befell Crœsus, to whom it was said: "You have indeed much gold, but he that can make a better use of steel than you will deprive you of this gold."

Thamas Kouli-Khan, who had raised himself to the throne of Persia, after having deposed his sovereign, conquered the Afghans, and took Kandahar, pursued his success, and marched to the capital of India, for no other reason than to deprive the mogul of all those treasures which his ancestors had taken from the Indians. There is not an instance of so numerous an army as that which the great mogul raised against Thamas Kouli-Khan, nor of so weak a conduct as that of this prince. He brought twelve hundred thousand men, ten thousand pieces of cannon, and two thousand armed elephants, into the field, to oppose the conqueror of Persia, who had with him only sixty thousand men. Darius did not bring so great a force against Alexander.

It is further said that this vast multitude of Indians was covered by intrenchments six leagues in length, on that side by which Kouli-Khan could attack them. So prodigious an army was sufficient to surround its enemies, cut them off from all communication, and destroy them by famine, in a country with which they were unacquainted. Instead of that, the little Persian army besieged the great one, cut off its supplies of provisions, and destroyed it piecemeal. The great mogul, Mahmud, seemed to have come thither only to make a parade of his vain

grandeur, and subject it to the power of these disciplined robbers: in fact, he came and humbled himself to Thamas, who talked to him in a magisterial tone, and treated him as his subject. This conqueror now entered Delhi, which is represented as a city larger and more populous than either London or Paris. He dragged this rich and miserable emperor with him wherever he went. At length he shut him up in a tower, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of India.

Some of the late mogul's officers, having attempted to seize the opportunity of a night when the Persians were given up to riot and debauch, to take up arms against their conquerors, Thamas delivered the city up to plunder, and everything was ravaged by fire and sword. He carried off much greater riches from Delhi than the Spaniards had taken at the conquest of Mexico. These immense treasures, which had been amassed by a continual rapine of four centuries, and were carried away into Persia by another rapine, have not prevented the Persians from being the most miserable people upon earth. These riches are dispersed or buried, during the civil wars, till such time as some future tyrant should again gather them together.

Kouli-Khan, when he left India to return to Persia, had the vanity to leave the title of emperor to Mahmud-Shah, whom he had dethroned; but he committed the government of the empire to a viceroy, who had brought up the great mogul, and

had made himself independent of him. He separated three kingdoms from this vast empire, namely: Cashmere, Kabul, and Multan, to incorporate them with Persia, and imposed a tribute of several millions on Hindostan.

Hindostan then was governed by the viceroy and a council, appointed by Thamas. Mahmud, who still retained the title of king of kings, and sovereign of the universe, was a mere phantom. All things had now resumed their common course, when Kouli-Khan was assassinated in Persia, in the midst of his triumphs: since that the Mogul has ceased to pay tribute, and the provinces which had been taken from the empire by the Persian victor have been reannexed to it.

We are not to believe that this king of kings, Mahmud, was despotic before his misfortunes; Aurung-Zeb had made himself such by vigilance, conquest, and cruelty. Despotism is a violent state, which seems incapable of duration. It is impossible that, in an empire where viceroys keep armies of twenty thousand men in their pay, these viceroys should ever pay a long or blind obedience to their sovereign. The lands which the emperor bestows on them become from that instant independent of him. We must be careful how we give credit to the erroneous assertion, that in India the product of the people's labors all belongs to one man. There are several Indian castes who still preserve their old possessions. The rest of the lands have been given

to the grandees of the empire, the rajahs, the nabobs, and the omrahs. These lands are cultivated as in other places, by farmers, who enrich themselves by it, and by colonists, who work for their masters. The lower class of people are poor in India, notwithstanding the riches of the country, as they are in almost every other part of the world; but they are not bond slaves, nor confined to a particular spot, as they were formerly in Europe, and still continue to be in Poland, Bohemia, and several of the countries of Germany. The peasant throughout all Asia is at liberty to leave his native country whenever he is discontented with his situation, and to go in search of a better where he can find it.

The sum of what we have to say of India in general is, that it is governed as a conquered country by thirty tyrants, who acknowledge an emperor, sunk like themselves, in luxury and debauch, and who devour the substance of the people. There are no fixed courts of justice here, the depositaries of the laws, which protect the weak against the powerful.

A problem very difficult to solve, is how the gold and silver which comes from America into Europe should be continually carried into Hindostan, and there swallowed up, never to reappear; and that nevertheless the people should be in general poor, and work almost for nothing. But the reason is, that the money does not go among the people; it goes to the merchants, who pay immense duties to

the governors; these governors give a great part of their profits to the great mogul, and hide the rest. Man's labor is worse paid in this, the richest country of the earth, than anywhere else; because in every country the pay of a day laborer seldom exceeds his subsistence and clothing; now the extreme fruitfulness of the soil in India, and the heat of the climate, make subsistence and clothing come to little or nothing. The laborer who seeks for diamonds in the mines, earns enough to buy him a little rice, and a cotton shirt; in all countries the rich have the services of the poor upon easy terms.

I shall not repeat what I have already said of those idolaters who are still found in great numbers in India: their superstitions are the same as they were in Alexander's time. The Brahmins teach the same religion; the women still throw themselves into the fire, which is lighted to burn their husbands' bodies, as has been frequently seen by our travellers and merchants. The disciples of a sect sometimes make it a point of honor to not survive their masters. Tavernier relates that he was witness to a transaction of this nature, even in Agra, one of the capital cities of India. A Brahmin having died, an Indian merchant who had studied under him came to the Dutch lodge, settled his accounts with them, and told them that he was resolved to follow his master into the other world, and actually starved himself to death, in spite of all their endeavors to persuade him to live.

One thing worthy of observation is, that the arts hardly ever go out of the families where they are cultivated: the daughter of an artisan never marries but with those of her father's trade. This is a very ancient custom in Asia, and was formerly a standing law in Egypt.

The law in Asia and Africa, which has always allowed a plurality of wives, cannot be put in practice by the poor people. The rich have always reckoned their wives as part of their fortunes, and have kept eunuchs to take care of them. This has been a custom time out of mind in India, as well as throughout all Asia. When the Jews wanted a king over three thousand years ago, Samuel, their magistrate and high priest, who opposed the establishment of the regal power, remonstrated that a king would lay taxes upon them for the support of his eunuchs. Men must have been for a long time accustomed to slavery not to look upon such a custom as very extraordinary.

While I was about finishing this chapter, a new revolution has turned everything upside down in Hindostan. The tributary princes and the viceroys have all shaken off the yoke. The people in the inland countries have dethroned their sovereign. India, like Persia, has become the seat of civil wars. These disasters show us that the administration was very bad, and at the same time, that this pretended despotism had no real existence. The emperor was

not even powerful enough to make himself obeyed by a rajah.

Our travellers have imagined that arbitrary power resided essentially in the person of the great mogul, because Aurung-Zeb subjected everything to his will. They have not considered that this power is founded wholly on the right of arms, and lasts no longer than he who exercises it has the command of a strong army; and that this very despotism which destroys everything, is likewise its own destroyer. It is not a form of government, but a subversion of all government. It adopts caprice for rule, and does not support itself by the laws, which can alone insure its duration; and this colossus falls to the ground the instant its arm ceases to be outstretched. From its ruins there arise several petty tyrannical governments, and the state never resumes a settled form till the laws are restored to their due functions.

CHAPTER CLXIV.

CHINA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, AND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH.

It can certainly be of very little use to you to know that in the Chinese dynasty, which reigned after the Tartar dynasty of Genghis Khan, the emperor Quan-cum succeeded Kin-cum, and Kin-cum Quan-cum. It is sufficient that these names are found in the chronological tables; but as you confine your attention wholly to events and manners, you will

readily pass over these void spaces to come at times distinguished by great things. The same effeminacy which proved the ruin of Persia and India occasioned a more thorough revolution in China in the last century, than that brought about by Genghis Khan and his sons. The Chinese Empire, at the beginning of the seventeenth century was in a much happier state than either India, Persia, or Turkey. It is not in human imagination to form a better plan of government than that by which the great courts of justice are regulated, which are all subordinate to one another, and whose members must undergo the strictest examination before they are admitted. These courts regulate all matters in China. There are six supreme courts which preside over all the other courts in the empire. The first inspects the conduct of all the mandarins; the second manages the finances; the third superintends the religious ceremonies, and the arts and sciences; the fourth directs the affairs relative to war; the fifth overlooks the courts set apart for judging criminal causes; and the sixth has the care of public works. The result of the several decisions is carried before a supreme tribunal. Under these six courts there are forty-four subaltern ones, which sit at Pekin. Every mandarin of a province or a city is assisted by a court. It is impossible that under such an administration an emperor can ever exercise arbitrary power. He has indeed the making of the general laws; but, by the constitution of the state, he can do nothing

without first consulting men learned in the laws and chosen by suffrage. Although the emperor's subjects always prostrate themselves before him as if he were a God, and the least failure in respect to his person is punished as an act of sacrilege, still this does not prove his government to be despotic and arbitrary. A despotic government would be that where the prince may, without infringing the laws, deprive a subject of his fortune or life without form of trial, and for no other reason than that it is his will. Now, if ever there was a state in which the life, honor, and fortune of the subject was under the protection of the laws, it is that of China. The greater the number of public bodies who are guardians of the laws, the less arbitrary is that government; and if the sovereign sometimes makes an ill use of his power against the few who are immediately under his cognizance, he cannot do so with respect to the multitude who are not known to him, and who live under the protection of the law.

Husbandry, which has been carried to a greater degree of perfection there than was ever known in Europe, sufficiently shows that the people were not burdened with those taxes which put a check to the industry of the husbandman. The great numbers of those employed in giving pleasure to others, show that the towns were as flourishing as the country was fertile. There is not a city in the empire which had not its feasts and shows. They did not, like us, go to the playhouses; they sent for

whole companies of comedians to their own houses. The comic and tragic art was common among them, but without being in great perfection; for the ancients have not improved any of the arts of genius excepting morality; but they enjoyed to a degree of profusion such as they knew; and, in a word, were as happy as human nature can be.

This happiness was succeeded, in 1630, by the most terrible catastrophe and universal desolation that could befall a state. The family of the Tartar conquerors, descendants of Genghis Khan, had done what all other conquerors had endeavored to do: they weakened a nation of conquerors, that they might not, while in possession of the throne, have the same revolution to fear from the vanquished that they themselves had caused. This dynasty, which was that of Ivan, having been afterward expelled by the dynasty of Ming, the Tartars who lived to the northward of the great wall were looked upon only as savages, from whom there was nothing to hope nor to fear. Beyond the great wall lies the kingdom of Lian-tung, incorporated by the Genghis family with the empire of China, and become wholly Chinese. To the north end of Lian-tung, there were some herds of Mantchou Tartars, whom the viceroy of Lian-tung treated with an oppressive severity. They made some bold representations, such as we are told the Scythians did ever after the invasion of their country by Cyrus; for the genius of a people

is always the same till a long course of oppression causes them to degenerate.

All the answer the governor made to their complaint was to burn their cabins, carry away their flocks, and endeavor to transplant the inhabitants. Then these Tartars, who were free, chose a chief of their own to carry on a war against their oppressors. This chief, who was called Taitsou, soon made himself king; he beat the Chinese, entered victorious into Lian-tung, and took the capital by assault.

This war was carried on in the same manner as those of distant times. Firearms were at that time unknown in this part of the world. The ancient arms were the only ones in use; such as arrows, spears, clubs, and scimitars: they made little use of bucklers and helmets; but there were very few coats of mail. Their fortifications consisted of a ditch, a wall, and towers upon it; they sapped the wall, or mounted it by scaling-ladders. The victory depended solely on bodily strength; and the Tartars, who were accustomed to sleep in the open fields, must necessarily have the advantage over a people bred up in a more delicate manner.

Taitsou, the first chief of the Tartar hordes, dying in 1626, at the beginning of his victories, his son, Taitsong, immediately took the title of Emperor of the Tartars, and put himself on a level with the emperor of China. It is said that he could read and write; and it appears that he acknowledged only

one God, like the Chinese literati; for he thus expresses himself in one of the circular letters which he wrote to the magistrates of the Chinese provinces: "Tien raises up whom he pleases; perhaps he may have chosen me to be your master." And, in fact, after 1628 Tien caused him to gain victory after victory. He was a man of great abilities; he civilized his brutal followers, to make them more obedient, and established laws in the midst of war. He always headed his troops in person; and the emperor of China, Hoaitsang, whose name has been lost in obscurity, remained shut up in his palace, with his women and eunuchs, and was the last emperor of the Chinese race: he was not able to prevent Taitsong and his Tartars from taking from him all his northern provinces, nor yet to suppress the rebellion of one of his mandarins, named Listching, who seized upon the southern ones. While the Tartars were ravaging the countries to the eastward and northward, this Listching made himself master of all the rest. It is said that he had six hundred thousand horsemen, and four hundred thousand infantry. He came with the flower of his army before Pekin, where the emperor still continued shut up in his palace, and was ignorant of a great part of what was going on. Listching sent back to the emperor two of his chief eunuchs whom he had made prisoners, with a very short letter, in which he exhorted him to quit the empire.

And here we may see an instance of the Asiatic

pride, and how well it agrees with the general effeminacy of their manners. The emperor ordered the two eunuchs to have their heads struck off, for having brought him a disrespectful letter; and his courtiers had much ado to make him sensible that the heads of the princes of the blood, and a great number of mandarins, whom Listching had in his power, would be made to answer for the death of the eunuchs.

While the emperor was deliberating upon what answer he should send back, Listching had already entered the city. The empress had barely time enough to save some of her sons; after which she shut herself up in her apartment, and there hanged herself. The emperor immediately ran thither, and being greatly taken with this instance of conjugal fidelity, he exhorted the rest of his wives, to the number of forty, to follow the example. Father Mailla, the Jesuit, who wrote this account in Pekin itself, in the last century, says that all these women obeyed without a murmur; but it is quite possible that a few of them may have wanted assistance. The emperor, whom this writer represents as a very good kind of a prince, perceiving, after the execution, his only daughter, about fifteen years old, whom the empress had not thought proper to let out of the seraglio, he exhorted her to hang herself, as well as her mother and mother-in-law; but the young princess desiring to be excused, this very good prince, as Mailla calls him, gave her a violent

blow with his sabre, and left her dead. It may be expected that such a father and a husband would have slain himself upon the dead bodies of his wives and his daughter; but he retired to a pavilion without the city, to wait for news; and being at length informed that everything was desperate, and that Listching had taken possession of his palace, he strangled himself, and at once put an end to an empire and a life which he had not had the courage to defend.[1] This extraordinary event happened in 1641. It was under this last emperor of the Chinese race that the Jesuits at length made their way into the court of Pekin. Father Adam Schall, a native of Cologne, had so far gained the good graces

[1] This catastrophe is differently related by Fathers Duhalde and Palafox. This last says that the emperor, being abandoned even by his guards, retired with his empress into a small wood, incapable of uttering one word, such was the excess of his grief. The empress, having tenderly embraced him, hanged herself with a silken cord. The emperor, having drunk a glass of wine, though at other times averse to that liquor, bit his own finger to produce an effusion of blood, with which he wrote a long letter, complaining of the treachery of his officers, lamenting the ruin of his empire, and the extinction of his family; concluding with this declaration, that as he had lost everything for which he chose to live, he thought it high time to part with life itself. Duhalde says he wrote the following sentence on the border of his vest: "I have been basely deserted by my subjects: do what you will with me, but spare my people." Then he cut off his daughter's head with one stroke of his scimitar, and hanged himself. The traitor Li insulted his body, and murdered all his surviving children, except his eldest son, who

of this emperor, by his knowledge of physics and mathematics, that he was made a mandarin. He was the first to show the Chinese how to cast brass cannon; but the few that were in Pekin were not sufficient to save the empire: besides, they did not know how to manage them. Mandarin Schall left Pekin before the revolution.

After the emperor's death, the Tartars and the rebels disputed the empire with each other. The Tartars were united and disciplined, the Chinese divided and undisciplined. They were obliged to give way little by little to the Tartars. That nation had taken a kind of spirit of superiority which did not depend upon their leader: it was with them as it had been with Mahomet's Arabians, who were so formidable of themselves for upwards of three hundred years.

The death of emperor Taitsong, whom the Tartars lost at that time, did not prevent them from pursuing their conquests. They chose one of his nephews, who was yet a child, in his stead: this was Chang-ti, father of the famous Camg-hi, under whom the Christian religion has made such progress in China. These people, who had first taken up

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escaped. U-sang-ghey, who commanded the imperial forces in the province of Lian-tung, instead of acknowledging the usurper, made peace with the Mantchou Tartars, and their king, Tsong-te, joined him with eighty thousand men. Li fled from Pekin; and Tsong-te, dying, was succeeded by his infant son, Sun-chi, who, in process of time, ascended the imperial throne of China.

arms in defense of their liberty, were not acquainted with hereditary right. We see that all nations have begun by choosing persons to head them in war, and afterward these chiefs have become absolute, excepting in some of the European nations. Hereditary right has been established and made sacred by time.

A minority has been the ruin of almost all conquerors, and yet it was during the minority of Chang-ti that the Tartars completed the reduction of China. The usurper, Listching, was slain by another Chinese usurper, who pretended to avenge the death of the late emperor. Several of the provinces set up true or false children of their dead prince, like the Demetriuses in Russia. The Chinese mandarins endeavored to usurp the provinces; but the more powerful Tartar usurpers at length got the better of all. There was a Chinese general, who for some time checked their progress, by having a few cannon which he had procured either from the Portuguese of Macao, or which were some of those cast by the Jesuit Schall. It is very remarkable that the Tartars, who were entirely destitute of artillery, should prevail over those who were provided with it: this was the very reverse of what happened in the New World, and a proof of the superiority of the northern people over those of the South.

What is most surprising is that the Tartars conquered all this vast empire of China, foot by foot, and under a minority; for their young emperor

Chang-ti, dying in 1661, when barely twenty-four years old, and before their dominion was firmly established, they elected his son, Camg-hi, at eight years old, being the same age at which they had chosen his father; and this Camg-hi restored the empire of China, having been so prudent and fortunate as to make himself equally well obeyed both by the Chinese and Tartars. The missionaries, whom he made mandarins, have extolled him as a perfect prince. Some travellers, and especially Legentil, who were not mandarins, say that he was sordidly covetous, and full of caprices; but these strokes of private character do not enter into this general picture of the world. It is sufficient that the empire was happy under this prince; it is in this view that we are to regard and judge of kings.

During the course of this revolution, which lasted thirty years, one of the greatest mortifications the Chinese underwent was that their conquerors obliged them to cut off their hair after the Tartar manner. There were some who chose to die rather than part with their heads of hair. We have had an instance of the Muscovites raising several seditions when Czar Peter I. obliged them to cut off their beards; so forcible is custom among the common people!

Time has not yet confounded the victorious with the vanquished people, as has happened in our Gaul, in England, and elsewhere.

Under the reign of Camg-hi, the European mis-

sionaries enjoyed a great degree of credit; several were lodged in the emperor's palace: they built churches, and had opulent houses. In America they had been successful in teaching the necessary arts to savages. In China they had taught the most refined arts to a learned and sensible nation. But jealousy soon destroyed the fruits of their wisdom, and that restlessness and contentious spirit, which is in Europe inseparably connected with learning and talents, overthrew the greatest designs.

The Chinese were astonished to see wise and learned men disagreeing even about what they came to teach, and mutually persecuting and anathematizing one another, entering criminal processes against one another, at the court of Rome, and striving to have it decided in a meeting of cardinals, whether the emperor of China understood his own mother tongue as well as missionaries from France and Italy.

These disputes were carried to such a length that the Chinese government feared or affected to fear the same disorders as had been raised in Japan. Camg-hi's successor therefore forbade the exercise of the Christian religion, while the Mahometans and all the different sects of bonzes were permitted to follow theirs. But this court, finding that want of the mathematics as great an evil as the pretended danger from a new religion, retained the mathematicians, and contented itself with imposing silence on the missionaries.

There is one event which well merits our attention; this is the famous earthquake which happened in China in 1699, in the reign of the emperor Camg-hi. This phenomenon proved more fatal than that which of late years destroyed the cities of Lima and Lisbon. It is said that nearly four hundred thousand souls perished in it. These shocks must necessarily have been very frequent in our globe: the number of volcanoes which vomit fire and smoke give reason to think that the outward shell of the earth rests upon vast gulfs filled with an inflammable matter. It is probable that the part which we inhabit has experienced as many revolutions from physical causes as the nations of the world in general have from rapaciousness and ambition.

CHAPTER CLXV.

JAPAN, IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

In the multitude of revolutions which we have seen from one end of the universe to the other, there seems to have been a fated chain of causes by which mankind have been carried away, as the waves and sands are driven by the wind. What has happened in Japan is an additional proof of it. A Portuguese prince, without either power or riches, in the fifteenth century, conceived the notion of sending a few ships to the coast of Africa. Soon afterward the Portuguese discovered Japan. Spain, for a

while the sovereign of Portugal, carried on an immense trade with the Japanese. The Christian religion was carried into that country by means of this trade; and, under favor of the general toleration allowed to all sects in Asia, introduced and established itself there. Three Christian princes of Japan made a journey to Rome to kiss the feet of Pope Gregory XIII. Christianity was on the point of becoming the prevailing religion of Japan, and in a short time the only one, when its very power proved the means of its destruction. We have already remarked, that the missionaries had a number of enemies there; but they had also secured a powerful party in their favor. The bonzes feared the loss of their ancient possessions, and the emperor that of his kingdom. The Spaniards had made themselves masters of the Philippine Islands in the neighborhood of Japan. The Japanese knew how they had acted in America; no wonder therefore that they took the alarm. The emperor, in 1586, had banished the Christian religion from his dominions, and had forbidden the practice of it by his subjects, under pain of death; but as they still allowed a trade to be carried on with the Portuguese and Spaniards, their missionaries made proselytes as fast as the government condemned them. It was then forbidden to introduce any Christian priests into the country; but notwithstanding this prohibition, the governor of the Philippine Islands sent Franciscan friars, in character of ambassadors, to the emperor

of Japan. These ambassadors began by building a public chapel in the capital city, called Macao; upon which they were driven out of the kingdom, and the persecution was redoubled. There was for a long time a vicissitude of cruelties and indulgence. It is plain that reasons of state were the sole motives for these persecutions; and that the Christian religion was opposed from the apprehension that it would be made an instrument to favor the designs of the Spaniards; for the religion of Confucius was never persecuted by the Japanese, though introduced by a people of whom they were jealous, and with whom they were frequently at war. That learned and judicious observer, Kempfer, tells us, that in 1674, the inhabitants of Macao being numbered, there were found twelve different religions in that capital, who all lived peaceably; and that these twelve sects contained more than four hundred thousand people, exclusive of the numerous court of the Dairi, the sovereign pontiff. It seems, then, that if the Portuguese and Spaniards could have contented themselves with liberty of conscience, they might have lived as quietly in Japan as the other twelve religions; and, even in 1636, they continued to carry on a profitable trade, seeing that they carried over to Macao two thousand three hundred and fifty chests of silver.

The Dutch, who had traded to Japan ever since 1600, were jealous of the traffic carried on by the Spaniards. In 1637 they took a Spanish ship off the

Cape of Good Hope, bound from Japan to Lisbon, on board of which they found several letters from a Portuguese officer named Moro, who was a kind of consul to that nation. These letters contained the plan of an intended conspiracy of the Christians in Japan against the emperor, specifying the number of ships and troops they expected from Europe and the settlements in Asia, in order to make the scheme succeed. These letters were sent by the Dutch to the court of Japan; Moro owned his handwriting, and was publicly burned. Upon this discovery the government chose rather to renounce all the advantages of a trade with strangers, than to see itself exposed to such machinations. The emperor, in an assembly of all the grandees of his kingdom, issued the famous edict, by which it was enacted that no Japanese should for the future presume to stir out of the country, under penalty of death; that no stranger should be admitted into the empire; that all the Spaniards and Portuguese should be sent away; that all the natives who were Christians should be imprisoned, and that a reward of one thousand crowns should be given to anyone who should discover a Christian priest. The violence of this procedure in the Japanese, who voluntarily separated themselves from the rest of the world, and gave up all the profits of trade, leaves no room to doubt that the conspiracy was real; but what proves it still more fully, is, that the Christian natives, with some few Portuguese at their head,

actually assembled in arms to the number of thirty thousand and more; they were defeated in 1638, and retired to a stronghold on the seaside, in the neighborhood of the port of Nagasaki.

At the same time all other foreign nations were driven from Japan; even the Chinese were included in this general law, because some missionaries had boasted to the Japanese that all China was on the point of being converted to Christianity. The Dutch themselves, who had discovered the conspiracy, were expelled as well as the rest; the factory which they had at that time at Ferando was already demolished; their ships had sailed; and only one remained, which the government summoned to fire upon the fortress, whither the Christians had fled for refuge. The Dutch captain, whose name was Kokbeker, performed this horrid service. The Christians were soon forced in their asylum, and put to death with the most excruciating tortures. Once more let me observe, that when we represent to ourselves such strange events, caused in Japan by a Portuguese and a Dutch captain, we cannot but be convinced of the restless spirit of the Europeans, and of the destiny which influences all nations.

The odious service which the Dutch had performed for the Japanese government did not procure them that indulgence they expected from it, which was, to be allowed a free trade and settlements there; however, they obtained permission to land

upon a little island near the port of Nagasaki, and there bring a fixed quantity of merchandise.

But they were obliged to trample upon the cross, and renounce all marks of Christianity, and likewise to swear that they were not of the same religion as the Portuguese, before they were admitted into this little island, where they live, as it were, in a prison; for as soon as they arrive the inhabitants take possession of their ships and goods, upon which they set a price. Thus, for the sake of getting money, they subject themselves every year to this confinement; and those who are kings at Batavia, and in the Molucca Islands, suffer themselves to be here treated as slaves; it is true, they are conducted from this little island to the emperor's court, and are honorably and courteously received wherever they come, but strictly guarded and observed. Their guides and their guards engage in a written oath, signed with their blood, to observe all the actions of the Dutch, and give an exact account of them.

It has been asserted in several books, that the Dutch abjured Christianity in Japan. This opinion had its source in the adventure of a Dutchman, who made his escape and lived for some time among the natives; but being discovered, in order to save his life he said he was no Christian, but a Dutchman. The government of Japan has, since this revolution, forbidden the building of vessels fit for going to sea; they have only long barks, worked

with sails and oars, for trading to their islands. It is looked upon as the greatest of crimes for strangers to frequent the country; it seems that they are still in dread of the danger they have been in. This fear agrees neither with the courage of the nation, nor with the greatness of the empire; but the horror of the past has operated more with them than the fear of the future. The conduct of the Japanese has been, in every respect, that of a people, generous, open, haughty, and extreme in their resolutions. At first they received strangers with cordiality; and when they thought themselves insulted and betrayed by them, they broke off all connections forever.

When Colbert, that minister of immortal memory, first erected an East India Company in France, he wanted to try if he could not bring about a trade for the French with Japan, by employing only Protestants, who might safely swear that they were not of the same religion as the Portuguese; but the Dutch opposed this scheme, and the Japanese, satisfied with receiving one nation among them whom they treated as prisoners, would not admit of two.

I shall not take any notice here of the kingdom of Siam, which has been represented to us as much larger and more opulent than it really is. We shall find in the "Age of Louis XIV." what little is necessary to be known concerning it. Korea, Cochin-China, Tonquin, Laos, Ava, and Pegu are countries of which we have very little knowledge; and, amidst the prodigious number of islands scattered

LOUIS XIV

about the extremities of Asia, there is only that of Java, where the Dutch have fixed the centre of their dominion and trade, that can enter into the plan of our general history. The same may be said of the people who inhabit the middle part of Africa, and an infinite number of smaller nations in the New World. I shall only observe that, before the sixteenth century, more than one-half of the globe was ignorant of the use of bread and wine, which is still unknown to part of America and the eastern part of Africa; insomuch that we are obliged to carry both those viands thither to celebrate the mysteries of our religion.

Cannibals are much more rare than is usually asserted; none have been seen by any of our travellers for the past fifty years. There are many kinds of men manifestly different from one another. Several nations still live in the state of pure nature; and while we make the tour of the world to discover in their countries wherewithal to satisfy our greediness, these people do not take the trouble of informing themselves whether there exist any other men than themselves, and pass their lives in a happy indolence, which to us would be a degree of misery.

Much yet remains for our vain curiosity to discover; but if we would confine ourselves to what is useful, there is already too much discovered.

ADDITIONS

TO

ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY.

THE GERMANS.

Cæsar tells us, in his "Commentaries," that the days of battle were always appointed by their magicians or soothsayers; and that when Ariovistus, one of their kings, led an army of a hundred thousand wandering Germans, to pillage the country of the Gauls, he — Cæsar — being very desirous to subdue these people, rather than plunder them, sent two Roman officers to Ariovistus, to confer with him on the occasion; when the barbarian ordered them to be loaded with chains, and to be kept as victims to be offered to the gods of his country; which inhuman sentence was going to be put in execution, when Cæsar delivered them by beating the German army. The families of these barbarians lived in wretched cottages, at one end of which the father, mother, sisters, brothers, and children lay all huddled together naked on straw, while the other end was reserved for their cattle. These, however, were people who became masters of Rome. Therefore Tacitus, in extolling the manners of the

ancient Germans, is like Horace when he sings the praises of the Getæ; both writers show themselves equally ignorant of their subject, and in fact only make the satire of Rome. Nay, Tacitus, in the midst of his panegyric, acknowledges what everyone knew: that the Germans chose rather to live by rapine, than to be at the pains to cultivate their lands; and that after having plundered their neighbors, they were wont to return home to make merry with their booty. However, they could not always subsist by plunder, for the Roman emperors having at length checked their incursions, and subjected a great part of them, they were constrained to seek a livelihood by labor, which they considered as the greatest hardship.

CHANGES IN THE GLOBE.

Those pleasant and fruitful tracts of land in the western part of Europe, that sweet country watered by the Rhine, the Meuse, the Seine, and the Loire, were all covered by the waters of the ocean for a prodigious number of ages. This truth is physically demonstrated by those deep and horizontal beds of seashells, which are found far inland, and which were deposited there little by little, as the ocean left it.

It is not so certain that those chains of mountains, which run across the Old and New Worlds, were formerly covered by the sea.

CHINA.

It is said in the "Book of the Five Kings"—by far the most ancient and authentic of the Chinese—that in the reign of the emperor Yo, the fourth in succession to Fo-hi, there was observed a conjunction of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and Venus. Now, our astronomers pretend to dispute among themselves concerning the time of this conjunction, which certainly they ought not to do; for even supposing the Chinese to have been mistaken in this celestial observation, the very mistake was glorious. We learn from books, that from time immemorial the Chinese knew that Venus and Mercury revolved round the sun; it would therefore be rejecting the common lights of reason not to perceive that such a knowledge supposes a vast number of preceding ages; and what renders those first writings so peculiarly venerable, and gives them such an acknowledged superiority over all those that relate the origin of other nations is, that we do not meet with any prodigies in them, any predictions, or any of those political impostures, with which the founders of all other states stand charged, unless we will except that of Fo-hi, who is said to have given out that he saw his laws written on the back of a flying serpent. But even this imputation, if true, shows us that writing was known in China before the time of Fo-hi. In fine, it is not for us in this western corner of the globe, to dispute the archives

of a nation who were completely civilized, while we were no more than a herd of savages.

The Chinese invented a cycle, or computation of time, which begins two thousand six hundred and two years before ours. Is it for us then to dispute a chronology which has been unanimously received by a whole people? Is it for us, I say, who have at least threescore different systems for reckoning ancient dates and times, and consequently have not one on which we can depend?

Certain learned chronologists have computed, that from one single family remaining after the deluge, the members of which were constantly employed in the business of procreation, and their children the same, there was begotten in the space of two hundred and fifty years, a far greater number of souls than the whole world at present contains. Surely the Talmud, or the Arabian tales, never broached anything half so absurd! Children are not begotten with the dash of a pen. Examine our colonies; examine the prodigious cluster of islands in Asia, which furnish not a single soul; or the Maldives, the Philippine, and the Molucca Islands, which have not half their proper number of inhabitants.

"The Journal of the Chinese Empire," which is the most authentic and useful work of its kind in the known world, inasmuch as it contains the particulars of all the public wants, and the resources and interests of all the orders of the state: this journal, I say, informs us, that in the year of our vulgar era 1725,

the wife of the emperor Yontohin, whom he had caused to be declared empress, did, according to the ancient custom on such occasions, distribute presents to all the poor women in China, over seventy years of age. The journal reckons in the single province of Canton ninety-eight thousand two hundred and twenty women of seventy years of age who received the bounty on this occasion, forty thousand eight hundred and ninety-three of eighty and upward, and three thousand four hundred and fifty-three who were nearly a hundred. How many women then must there have been, who were not entitled to this donation? We have here above one hundred and forty-two thousand who partook thereof in one province only. These are among the number accounted of no use to the state. How prodigious then must be the population of this country? Only supposing everyone entitled to the bounty throughout the empire to have received the value of ten livres, to what an immense sum must this have amounted!

There is a particular passage in the Third Book of Confucius, which shows how very ancient the use of armed chariots is. In his time, the viceroys, or governors of provinces, were obliged to furnish the emperor, or head of the empire, with a thousand war chariots, drawn by four horses abreast, and a thousand four-wheeled chariots. Homer, who flourished a century after the Chinese philosopher, never speaks of chariots with more than three or four horses

abreast. The Chinese had undoubtedly first begun, and were become perfect masters in the use of four-wheeled chariots; but neither the Greeks in the time of the Trojan war, nor the Chinese, appear to have made use of simple cavalry, and yet it is almost beyond dispute, that the method of fighting on horseback was prior to the use of chariots. We are told that Pharaoh, king of Egypt, had horsemen, and at the same time that he made use of chariots of war.

It is certain that the Chinese were acquainted with the elements of geometry many ages before Euclid; and the emperor did of late years assure Father Parrenin, the most learned and wise of any of the missionaries who had access to the person of that prince, that the emperor Yu had made use of the properties of the right-angled triangle in drawing the geographical plan of a province above three thousand nine hundred and sixty years ago; and Father Parrenin himself quotes a book written above one thousand one hundred years before our vulgar era, which says that the famous demonstration which the western part of the world attributed to Pythagoras, had for a long time been in the number of the most generally known theorems.

The fundamental law in China being to consider the empire as one family, is the reason why the welfare of the community is attended to as the first and principal duty; hence that particular care which the emperor and the several tribunals show in keeping the highways in repair, in making communica-

tions between rivers, in forming canals, and in encouraging the agriculture and manufactories.

We shall set apart another section for treating of the Chinese government. But you are to observe beforehand that the travellers and missionaries have affirmed it to be altogether despotic. But here they judge only from outward appearances; and because they see men fall flat on their faces before another, imagine therefore that they must all be slaves to that person, and that he has absolute power over the lives and fortunes of a hundred millions of men, to whom his sole will must be a law. But this is an erroneous opinion, as we shall show more at large in another place; for the present I shall content myself with observing that, in the first ages of this monarchy, the people were permitted to write down any complaints they might have against the administration on a long table placed for that purpose in an apartment of the palace, and that this custom was received in its full force under the reign of Vengthi, two centuries before our vulgar era; and lastly, that, in times of peace, the representations of the tribunals have always had the force of law.

Confucius begins his book by saying that whoever is destined to rule over a nation ought "to purify that reason which he has received from heaven, in the same manner as we cleanse a mirror when it is soiled"; and also, that he ought "to form himself anew, in order to remodel the people committed

to his care." All he says tends to the same end. He does not pretend to inspiration, or the gift of prophecy. He places all his merit in a constant endeavor to gain the mastery over his passions, and he writes only as a philosopher: accordingly, the Chinese consider him only as a philosopher.

We know very little about materialism, and far less about immaterialism. The Chinese did not know more of it than ourselves, and their learned were satisfied with adoring a Supreme Being. Of this there can be no doubt.

The belief that God and His angels were corporeal was an old metaphysical error; but not to believe that there is any God is an error incompatible with a wise government. It is a contradiction worthy of ourselves to cry out with vehemence against Bayle, for believing that a society of atheists may exist, and at the same time to affirm that the wisest empire in the universe is founded on atheistical principles.

Father Fouquet, the Jesuit, who lived twenty-five years in China, and left it a declared enemy to those of his own order, has told me several times that there were very few of the Chinese philosophers atheists. The same may hold good amongst us.

INDIA.

This country is the only one in the world that produces those spices which the temperance of the natives can do without, and which the epicurism

of the inhabitants of these northern climates have rendered a necessary food.

Pythagoras, the gymnosophist, may alone serve as an incontestable proof that true science was cultivated in India. A master in politics and geometry would not long have remained in a school where they taught nothing but empty words. It is even more than probable that Pythagoras learnt the properties of the right-angled triangle from the Indians, the invention of which was afterward ascribed to him; for it was so well known in China, it might easily be the same in India. It has been frequently said, that he offered a hecatomb of bullocks on the discovery. This was rather an extravagant offering for a philosopher. It is certainly well becoming a wise man to return thanks for a happy thought, to Him who is the giver of all knowledge, as well as of being; but it is more likely that Pythagoras was indebted for this theorem to the gymnosophists, than that he sacrificed a hecatomb of bullocks.

The Indian sages treated morality and philosophy under the veil of fable and allegory long before the time of Pilpay. When they wanted to describe the equity of any one of their kings, they said that "the gods that preside over the several elements having a dispute among themselves, had chosen this king as umpire between them." Their ancient traditions give an account of a judgment much like that of Solomon's. They have a fabulous story exactly the same as that of Jupiter and Amphitryon,

but more ingeniously imagined, for a sage by his superior knowledge discovers which of them is the god, and which the mortal. These traditions show the great antiquity of those allegories which make all extraordinary men to be children of the gods. The Greeks learned all their mythology from the Indians and Egyptians. All these parables formerly included a philosophical meaning; in process of time the meaning was lost, and the fable remained.

Science has greatly degenerated among the Indians: possibly the Tartarian government may have damped the genius of those people, as the Ottoman government has that of the Greeks and the Egyptians, which latter it has in a manner made stupid. The sciences are likewise almost annihilated among the Persians, from the multitude of revolutions that state has undergone. We have seen that they have continued in China in much the same degree of mediocrity as among us in the middle age, and from the same cause which operated with us, namely, a superstitious veneration for antiquity, and the rules and dogmas of schools. Thus the human mind finds something to check its progress in every country.

Some have imagined that the human race was originally of Hindostan, and alleged in defence of their opinion, that the most helpless of all animals would be naturally produced in the mildest of all climates, and in a country where the ground spontaneously produced the most wholesome and nour-

ishing fruits, such as dates and cocoanuts, the latter of which in particular produce with a very little trouble wherewithal to afford him food, raiment, and lodgings; what more can an inhabitant of this peninsula stand in need of? The laborer there works almost naked, and two yards of a thin stuff is more than sufficient for a covering to their women, who are strangers to luxury. The children continue naked as they are born till the age of puberty. Mattresses, feather beds, rich coverlets, and double curtains folding over each other, which we purchase with so much pains and expense, would be insufferable inconveniences to these people, who cannot sleep otherwise than on a mat, in the open air.

Those houses of carnage, which with us are called meat markets, and where so many carcasses are sold to nourish ours, would occasion a plague in the Indian climate. The natives want only light and cooling food, and nature has accordingly bestowed on them, with a liberal hand, vast woods of citron, orange, and fig, palm, and coco-trees, and fields covered with rice. The most robust man in that country could not expend more than twopence a day for his diet, whereas a laboring man with us spends more in eating in one day than would serve a Malabar for a month. These several considerations seem to corroborate the ancient opinion that man is originally a native of a country where nature has provided for all his wants, and left him little or nothing to do himself. But this only

proves that the Indians themselves are indigenous, and not that the several other races of men came from this country. The whites, the blacks, the reds, the Laplanders, the Samoyeds, and the Albinos, or white Moors, are certainly not natives of the same climate. There is as distinguishing a difference between all these kinds as between a horse and a camel. No one, then, but an ignorant and obstinate Brahmin would attempt to say that all mankind is descended from the Indian.

The western nations have always carried their gold and silver into India, increasing the wealth of that country already so rich of itself. Hence it comes that we never see the inhabitants of India, of China, or the banks of the river Ganges, quit their own country to make incursions on other nations, as was the custom with the Arabs, Jews, and Saracens, the Tartars, and even the Romans themselves, who, being situated in the worst part of all Italy, lived in the beginning wholly by war, as they do at present by religion.

It is beyond doubt that the continent of India was of a much larger extent formerly than it is at present. The islands which are scattered between it and the eastern and southern part of the continent were, in the early ages of the world, a part of the earth, as may appear by the shallowness of the sea which separates them, the trees that grow at its bottom, which are exactly the same as those found on the islands and, lastly, those new portions

of land which it frequently leaves dry; all of which shows that this part of the continent has been formerly overflown; and this has happened as a necessary consequence, when the ocean, which always gains in one part what it loses in another, returned from our western shores.

The abominable custom by which the women in India make it a point of honor to burn themselves on the bodies of their husbands, is not yet abolished. The widow of the king of Tanjore burned herself in the year 1735, on the funeral pile of her husband. M. Dumas and M. Dupleix were witnesses of several of these inhuman sacrifices. This is certainly the utmost extent of error and superstition over the perverted mind of man. The most austere dervish is a pusillanimous wretch in comparison with a Malabar woman.

It certainly was not Christianity that flourished in India in the sixth century; it was Mahometanism, which had been introduced there after the conquest of the caliphs, and Aaron Raschid, or Haroun-al-Raschid. This illustrious contemporary of Charlemagne, who conquered Africa, Syria, Persia, and a part of India, sent some Mussulman missionaries to propagate the Mahometan faith among the inhabitants on the borders of the Ganges, those of the isles in the Indian Sea, and even a horde of negroes. From that time there were a great number of missionaries in India. We do not find that the great Haroun converted the Indians by fire and

sword, as Charlemagne did the Saxons; neither do we find that the Indians refused to submit to the yoke of Haroun-al-Raschid, as the Saxons did to that of Charlemagne.

The Indians have always been as remarkable for their mildness as our northern race for their roughness. The softness which is begotten by a climate is not to be overcome, but roughness is to be softened.

In general, the men inhabiting the southeast part of the globe have received from nature gentler manners than we who dwell in the western hemisphere. Their climate naturally disposes them to abstinence from strong liquors and meats, foods which inflame the blood frequently to a degree of madness; and although the natural goodness of their dispositions may have been corrupted by superstition and the repeated irruptions of foreigners, yet all travellers agree that these people have nothing of that petulance and sourness in their nature which has cost so much pains to control in the people of the North.

There being so great a physical difference between us and the natives of India, there must undoubtedly have been as great a moral one. Their vices were in general less violent than ours. Like us, they in vain sought for a remedy against the irregularity of their manners. It was from time immemorial a maxim with them and the Chinese "that the wise man was to come from the West." We Europeans,

on the contrary, said, "that the wise man was to come from the East." All nations have, in all times, stood in need of a wise man.

THE BRAHMINS, THE VEDA, AND THE EZOUR-VEDA.

As India supplies the wants of all the world but is herself dependent for nothing, she must for that very reason have been the most early civilized of any country, and by a like consequence necessarily have had the most ancient form of worship. It is most probable the religion of India was for a long time the same as that of the Chinese government, and consisted only in the pure and simple worship of a Supreme Being, free from any superstition and fanaticism.

This simple religion was formed by the first Brahmins, such as was established in China by the first kings of that country. These Brahmins, who at that time governed India, were the peaceable rulers of a mild and discerning people, and were at the same time the chiefs of religion. That religion must be simple and rational, because its chiefs have no occasion for errors to procure them obedience. It is so natural to believe in one only God, and to adore Him, and to feel from the very soul that He must be just; that where a ruler declares these truths, the faith of the people prevent his words. It requires some time to establish arbitrary laws, but a single instant is sufficient to teach a number of people assembled to believe that there

is a God, and to hearken to the dictates of their own hearts.

The first Brahmins then, being at once kings and pontiffs, could not establish religion but on the foundation of universal reason; but it is not so in those countries where the pontifical and regal dignity are separate. In this case the religious functions, which belong originally to the head of families, form a distinct profession. The service of God becomes a trade, and to make this worth carrying on, recourse must sometimes be had to delusions and impostures.

Religion, then, degenerated among the Brahmins as soon as they ceased to be sovereigns.

The Brahmins had ceased to rule in India long before the time of Alexander the Great; but the tribe, or caste, as it was called, still held the chief rank, as it continues to do to this day; and it was from this tribe that they took those sages, true or false, which the Greeks called Gymnosophists. It cannot be denied that, even in their decline, they gave many proofs of that kind of virtue which is compatible with the illusions of fanaticism. They continued to acknowledge one supreme God, in the midst of the multitude of subordinate deities, which popular superstition adopted in all countries in the world. Strabo expressly says that, in the main, the Brahmins acknowledge only one God. In this they resemble Confucius, Orpheus, Socrates, Plato, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, all the sages

and all the hierophants, or those who had the care of the sacred mysteries. The seven years of probationership among the Brahmins, and the silence enjoined during that term, were still in force in the time of Strabo. The celibacy to be observed during this novitiate, the abstaining from the flesh of domestic animals, were laws which they never transgressed, and which still subsist among them. They held one God, the creator, preserver, and avenger, and believed the fall and degeneracy of man; and this opinion is everywhere to be met with among the people of antiquity. *Aurea sata est ætas* is the device of all nations.

Apuleius, Quintus Curtius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Philostratus, Porphyry, and Palladio all agree in their encomiums on the extreme temperance and frugality of the Brahmins, their life of retirement and penance, their vows of poverty, and the contempt they show for all the vanities of this world. St. Ambrose makes no scruple to prefer their manners to those of the Christians of his time; though perhaps this may be one of those allowable exaggerations meant to correct the irregularities of his fellow citizens; and this panegyric on the Brahmins might be intended as salutary satire on the monks; and had St. Ambrose lived in India, he would probably have praised the monks, in order to put the Brahmins to the blush. However, we know, from a multitude of testimonies, that these

men were everywhere in high reputation, on account of the sanctity of their lives.

That belief of one God only, for which they are so esteemed by all philosophers, continues with them, in the midst of the numberless idols with which their country abounds, and the extravagant superstition of the common people.

A French poet says, in one of his epistles, of which every line is almost a falsehood:

"L'Inde ajourd'hui voit l'orgueilleux brachmane,
Dêifier brutalement sêlê,
Le diable même en bronze ciselé."

"——— India beholds
Her Brahmin, vain of fancied piety,
Prostrate before his brazen deity,
With brutal zeal e'en Satan's name invoke."

But certainly men who do not believe in a devil will hardly invoke that devil. Such absurd reproaches are unsufferable. The devil was never adored in any one country in the world. The Manichæans themselves never paid any worship to the evil spirit, nor is it anywhere enjoined in the religion of Zoroaster. It is high time for us to lay aside the mean custom of calumniating all sects, and abusing all nations but our own.

I have in my hands a translation of one of the most ancient manuscripts in the world. I do not mean the *"Veda,"* which is so much spoken of in India, and which has not hitherto been communicated to any of our European literati. It is the *"Ezour-veda,"* an ancient commentary, composed

by Chumontou on this "*Veda*," which the Brahmins pretended to be the most holy of all books, and to have been delivered by God Himself to man. This commentary has been digested by a very learned Brahmin, who has done many great services to our India Company, and who translated it himself out of the holy tongue into French.[1]

In the "*Ezour-veda*," or commentary, Chumontou strongly attacks idolatry. He first quotes the words of the "*Veda*" itself:

"The Supreme Being has created all things, both animate and inanimate. There have been four different ages of the world; everything perished at the end of each age. The whole world was drowned, and a deluge is the passage from one age to another, etc.

"When God existed alone, and no other being existed with him, he formed the design of creating the world. He first created time, and then the water and the earth, and from the mixture of the five elements, namely, earth, water, fire, light, and air, he formed the different bodies, and gave them the earth as their basis. He made the globe we inhabit oval, or in the shape of an egg. In the midst of the earth is the highest of all mountains, whose name is Meron, i. e. Imaus. The first man created by God was called Adimo, his wife's name was Procriti. Of Adimo was born Brama,

[1] I have made a present of this MS. to the king's library, where any one may have a sight of it.

who was the lawgiver of nations, and the father of the Brahmins."

How many curious things are here in a few words! The first that presents itself to us is this important truth: that God is the creator of the world; then follows the primitive source of the old fable of the four ages: the golden, the silver, the brazen, and the iron. All the principles of ancient divinity are included in the *"Veda."* We there find the Deucalion deluge, which is only an emblem of the prodigious trouble that men found in those times to drain the ground, which the negligence of their forefathers had suffered to lie under water. The quotations in this *"Veda,"* or holy manuscript are all of them surprising. We there find the following admirable sentence, word for word:

" God never created sin, nor can he be the author thereof. God, who is wisdom and holiness, created only virtue."

The following is one of the most singular passages in the *"Veda:"*

" When the first man came from the hand of God, he said to him: 'There will be different occupations on the earth; every man will not be fit to exercise all; how are we to distinguish such as are proper for each?' God answered him: 'Those who are born with a greater knowledge of, and inclination for, virtue than the rest, shall be Brahmins. Those who partake the most of *rosogoun,*

i. e. ambition, shall be warriors; those who partake the most of *tomogun*, i. e. avarice, shall be merchants, and those who partake the most of *comogun*, i. e. bodily strength, and a limited understanding, shall be employed in servile labors.'"

In these words we have the true origin of the four castes in India, or rather of the four conditions of human society; for, indeed, on what can the inequality of these conditions be founded but on an inequality of talents? The "*Veda*" goes on to say:

"The Supreme Being has neither body nor figure;" and the "*Esour-veda*" adds, "All such who give the Deity hands or feet, are fools or madmen." Chumontou then quotes these words of the "*Veda:*"

"When God took all things from nothing, he created a distinct individual of each species, willing that it should contain its own germ within itself, in order to produce its like. He is the sovereign and lord of all things. The sun is but a body without life and knowledge, and is, in the hands of God, like a candle in the hands of a man."

After this, the author of the commentary, as he is attacking the opinion of the modern Brahmins, who admit several incarnations in the gods, Brahma and Vishnu, expresses himself thus:

"Tell me, blind and senseless man, who were Kochipo and Odite, of whom thou sayest thy god was born? Were they not mortals like us? Shall

then that God, who is pure in his nature, and eternal in his essence, stoop to lose himself in the embraces of a woman, in order to take a human shape? Dost thou not blush to represent that God to us, in the posture of a suppliant before one of his creatures? Hast thou lost thy understanding, or art thou come to that height of impiety as not to blush at making the Divine Being act the part of an impostor and a liar?—— Cease then to deceive mankind; and on this condition, and this only, I will explain to thee the *'Veda'*; for if thou remainest in the same sentiments, thou art incapable of understanding it, and it would be profanation to attempt to teach it thee."

In the third book of this commentary, the author refutes the fable of the incarnation of the god, Brahma, invented by the modern Brahmins, who pretend he appeared in India under the name of Kopilo, that is to say, the Penitent, and that he chose to be born of Dehobuti, the wife of a man in good circumstances, whose name was Kordomo.

"If it is true," says the commentator, "that Brahma was born on earth, how came he eternal? Would he, who is supremely happy, and in whom alone is our happiness, have submitted to suffer all the pains and inconveniences of an infant, etc."

After this there follows a description of hell, exactly like that which the Egyptians and Greeks have given us of Tartarus. "What must we do to avoid hell?" "We must love God," replies the

commentator Chomontou; "we must do what is ordered in the *'Veda,'* and in the manner there prescribed. There are four ways of loving God. The first is, to love him for his own sake, and without any self view; the second is, to love him through interest; the third is, to love him only in those moments when our passions are predominant; and the fourth is, to love him only for the sake of obtaining the object of those passions; and this last way does not deserve the name of love."

This is the summary of the most remarkable passages in the *"Veda,"* a book hitherto unknown in Europe, and in almost all Asia.

The Brahmins have degenerated more and more. The *"Cormoredam,"* which is their ritual, is a collection of superstitious ceremonies which would make anyone laugh who is not born on the borders of the Ganges or Indus; or in other words, anyone who, not being a philosopher, is surprised at the follies of other nations, and not at those of his own country. As soon as an infant is born, it must have the word *oum* pronounced over it, or it will be forever unhappy. Its tongue must then be rubbed with consecrated meal. Certain prayers are to be said over it, and at each prayer, the name of some god is to be pronounced. The third day of the new moon the child is to be laid in the open air, with its head turned toward the north.

The detail of every trifling circumstance is immense. The whole is a collection of all the

follies, wherewith the study of judicial astrology can have inspired the brains of an ingenious but extravagant, or designing body of learned men. The whole life of a Brahmin is taken up with these ceremonious triflings. They have a particular ceremony for every day of the year. Mankind seems to have become weak and effeminate in India, in proportion as they have been subjected; and there is great appearance, that after each conquest they were loaded with new ceremonies, and new penances. Sezac, Madies, the Assyrians, the Persians, Alexander, the Arabians, the Tartars, and in our own days Shah Nadir, by their successive incursions and ravages in this beautiful country, have formed a nation of devotees of those whom nature had not formed for war.

Their pagodas, or temples, were never so rich as in times of the greatest misery and humiliation. Each of these pagodas has a considerable revenue belonging to it, which is further increased by the offerings of the devout. When a rajah, or Indian nobleman, passes a pagoda, he immediately alights from his horse, his camel, his elephant, or his palanquin, and walks on foot till he is out of the district of that pagoda.

The ancient commentary on the "*Veda,*" from which I have given the above extracts, appears to me to have been written before the time of Alexander's conquests in India, for we meet with none of those names which the Greek conquerors

gave to the rivers, towns, and provinces of that country. India itself is called Zomboudipo; Mount Imaus, Meron; and the Ganges, Zenoubi. These ancient names are at present known only to those learned in the holy language.

The ancient purity of the religion of the first Brahmins subsists no longer, except among a few of their philosophers, and these do not give themselves the trouble of instructing a people who will not receive instruction, and who indeed deserve it not. They would even run some hazard in attempting to undeceive them; the ignorant Brahmins would set up a cry of heresy and impiety, in which they would be joined by the women, who are devoted to the service of their pagodas, and fond, to a degree of enthusiasm, of all the little superstitious ceremonies employed therein. Whoever attempts to teach his fellow citizens reason, is sure of being persecuted for his pains, unless he has the arm of power on his side; and we generally find that those who use the arm of power, rivet the chains of ignorance instead of breaking them.

The Mahometan religion is the only one that has made any great progress in India, especially among the higher rank of people: the reason is, that it is the religion of the sovereign, and that it teaches the worship of one God, agreeable to the ancient doctrine of the Brahmins. Christianity has not met with the same success in this country, notwithstanding the evident holiness of its doctrine, and

the numerous settlements of the Portuguese, French, English, Dutch, and Danes: and indeed this mixture of nations may have been the chief hindrance to the progress of our holy faith: for as they all hate each other, and frequently are at war among themselves in this country, it has made the doctrine they teach despised. Moreover, the Indians are disgusted with our customs, and scandalized to see us drink wine, and eat meats, which they hold in abhorrence. The conformation of our organs of speech, which occasions us to pronounce the Asiatic languages so badly, is another almost insurmountable obstacle; but the greatest is the difference of opinion which divides our missionaries. Those of the Catholic communion oppose those of the Church of England, these latter the Lutherans, who are again opposed by the Calvinists; thus, everyone contradicting another, and all pretending to publish the voice of truth, and mutually charging each other with falsehood, confound a simple and peaceable people, who view, with astonishment, a set of furious men crowding into their country from the western extremities of the earth, to cut each others' throats on the borders of the Ganges.

It must be confessed that we have had some missionaries in that part of the world, who have commanded respect by their piety, and the gentleness of their manners, and who cannot be accused of having exaggerated their labors or their successes. But all those who have been sent from Europe

to make converts in Asia, have not been men of understanding and virtue. The famous Nelcamp, author of the "History of the Tranquebar Mission," acknowledges that "the Portuguese filled the seminary of Goa with malefactors who had been condemned to banishment, who being afterward made missionaries, could not even in that character forget their old trade." Our holy religion has made very little progress in these parts; and none at all in the dominions immediately subject to the great mogul. Mahometanism and the religion of Brahma continue to divide this vast continent between them.

MAHOMET.

There never was a conqueror or legislator whose life has been written with greater authenticity, or handed down to us with a more circumstantial exactness, than that of Mahomet, by those writers who were his contemporaries. If we divest it of those miracles, with a belief of which the people of that part of the world were infatuated, we shall have an account agreeable to known truths in all its parts. He was born at Mecca, in Arabia Petræa, in April, 579, according to our vulgar era. His father's name was Abdallah, that of his mother, Aminah. It is beyond contradiction that his family was one of the most considerable of its tribe, which was that of Koreish. But the genealogy which makes him to be descended in a right line from Abraham, appears to be one of those fables invented by the

natural desire which mankind have to impose on one another.

The manners and superstitions of the primitive ages, of which we have already taken a review, were still preserved in Arabia, as will appear by the vow which Abd-el-Moottalib, the grandfather of Mahomet, made to offer one of his children in sacrifice. A priestess of the temple of Mecca, ordered him to redeem his son by offering a certain number of camels, which the exaggeration common among the Arabians makes to amount to a hundred. This priestess was dedicated to the service of a star, which is supposed to have been Sirius, or the dog-star, for each tribe had its particular star or planet; they also paid divine honors to genii and demigods, but still acknowledged a superior deity; and in this respect almost all nations seem to be agreed.

Abd-el-Moottalib is said to have lived to the age of one hundred and ten; his grandson, Mahomet, carried arms when he was only fourteen years old, in a war on the confines of Syria; but being afterward reduced to very low circumstances, one of his uncles placed him as factor to a widow woman called Khadijah, who exercised the profession of a merchant; at this time he was twenty-five years of age. This widow soon after took her young factor for her husband, and Mahomet's uncle, who brought about this match, gave his nephew twelve ounces of gold, or nearly nine hundred francs of

our money, which was the whole patrimony of him who was one day to change the face of the most extensive and beautiful country in the world. Mahomet lived in obscurity with his mistress, now his wife, to the age of forty.

Mahomet resolved within himself to root out of his country the doctrine of the Sabæans, which consists in a medley worship of the true God and of the stars. Judaism, which is held in abhorrence by the nations, and which at that time began to make a considerable progress in Asia, and lastly, Christianity, which he knew only by the irregularities and ill conduct of the several sects, spread over the face of his country; he designed to restore the simple worship of Abraham, whose descendant he pretended to be, and to bring all mankind to believe in the only God; a tenet which he thought grievously changed and mutilated in all religions. This he in effect declares himself in the third sura or chapter of his Koran where he thus expresses himself: "God knows, and ye do not know. Abraham was neither Jew nor Christian, but a believer of the true God. He had given his heart to God, and was not of the number of idolaters."

It is probable that Mahomet, like all enthusiasts, being forcibly struck with his own ideas, uttered them at first as he felt them; these growing afterward more strong by being often repeated, he deceived himself while he was deceiving others; and at length he had recourse to imposture to sup-

port a doctrine which he thought right. He began by establishing his credit as a prophet with those of his own family, which was perhaps the most difficult part of his undertaking. His wife, and young Ali, the husband of his daughter Fatimah, were his first disciples.

He quickly found that his countrymen were incensed against him, on account of the innovations he wanted to introduce; but this was no more than what he had reason to expect. His answer to the threats of the Koreishites, at once paints the character of the man, and shows the method of expression used by those of his nation: "Though ye were to come against me with the sun in one hand and the moon in the other, I would not depart from my purpose."

He had raised only sixteen disciples, four of whom were women, when he was obliged to make them quit Mecca, on account of the persecution raised against them; and sent them to preach his religion in Ethiopia. He boldly remained behind, where he braved all his enemies, and continued making new converts, whom he sent into Ethiopia, to the number of a hundred. But that which gave the greatest weight to his new religion, was the conversion of Omar, who, from having been a long time his persecutor, became his disciple. This Omar, who was afterward a great conqueror, standing up in the midst of a numerous assembly, cried out with a loud voice: "I attest that there is but

one God, that he has neither companion nor equal, and that Mahomet is his servant and prophet."

Mahomet undoubtedly was neither ignorant nor illiterate, as some have pretended. He must, on the contrary, have been a person of great learning for one of his nation, and the times he lived in, since we have some medical aphorisms of his; and we know that he corrected the Arabian calendar, as Cæsar did that of the Romans. He was a poet, as appears by his Koran, the last verses of every chapter being in rhyme, and the rest in measured prose; and this air of poetry contributed not a little to render his book respectable; for the Arabians held poetry in the highest esteem, and wherever there happened to be a good poet in any one of their tribes, the other tribes sent a kind of ambassador, with compliments of congratulation to that which had produced an author, whom they looked on as inspired, and a useful member. The best productions of this kind were posted in the temple of Mecca, where the second chapter of Mahomet's Koran was also placed, which begins thus: "There is no room for doubt; this is the knowledge of the righteous, and of those who believe in the holy mysteries, who pray at the proper times, who give with liberality, etc." One Abid, who at that time bore the palm as the first poet in Mecca, tore down his own verses which had been hung up in the temple, and from an admirer became a disciple of Mahomet. These are manners, customs, and

facts totally different from any amongst us; and may serve to show us what an amazing variety of coloring is in the great picture of nature, and how cautious we should be not to judge of the manners and customs of other nations by those of our own.

Notwithstanding the strong conformity of manners between the Ishmaelites and the ancient Hebrews, as to their enthusiasm and thirst after plunder, yet the former were greatly superior to the latter in courage, generosity, and magnanimity. Their history, true and fabulous, before the time of Mahomet, abounds with examples of friendship, equal to any in the Grecian fables of Pylades and Orestes, Theseus and Pirithous. The history of the Barmecides is one continued tale of unexampled generosity, which transports the soul with admiration in the recital. These instances characterize a nation. On the contrary, we do not meet with one generous action in all the Hebrew annals. They were strangers to hospitality, generosity, and clemency. Their greatest happiness consisted, and still does, in exercising the most rapacious usury toward strangers; and this spirit of usury, which is the foundation of all baseness, is ingrafted in their hearts, which is the perpetual object of the figures which may employ us in that kind of eloquence peculiar to themselves. They glory in laying waste, with fire and sword, those defenceless towns or villages of which they can make themselves the masters. They put to death all the old men

and children, reserving only young maidens who are marriageable. They assassinate their masters when they are slaves, and never listen to mercy when they are conquerors; in a word, they are enemies of human kind. We find not the least footsteps of politeness, knowledge, or any one of the useful or agreeable arts among this nest of barbarians. But after the second age of the Hegira, the Arabians became the preceptors of Europe in the arts and sciences, nothwithstanding that their religion seems to be the professed foe of all polite accomplishments.

This division sowed the first seeds of that great schism, which at present separates the two sects of Omar and Ali, the Sunnites and the Shiahs, the Turks and the modern Persians.

The Arabians carried their superstitious respect for the Koran so far as to believe that the original was written in heaven. The grand dispute was, whether this book was written from all eternity, or only in the time of Mahomet. The most devout espoused the opinion of its being eternal.

It is well worthy of observation that Omar indulged the Jews and Christians, who inhabited Jerusalem, with full liberty of conscience.

Those who are fond of antiquity, and delight in comparing the geniuses of different nations, will be pleased to see the great resemblance between the manners and customs in the time of Mahomet, Abubeker, and Omar, and those of which Homer

has given us so faithful a portrait. They will here behold the chiefs of one party defying those of the opposite party to single combat, and stepping forth from their respective ranks to decide the fate of the day in the presence of both armies, who remain inactive spectators of the contest, while the combatants mutually interrogate each other, return defiance for defiance, and invoke the aid of the gods before they begin the fight. There were several of these single combats fought at the siege of Damascus.

It is evident that the combat of the Amazons, mentioned by Homer and Herodotus, was not founded on fabulous reports, for the women of the tribe of Himear in Arabia Felix were warriors, and fought in the armies of Abubeker and Omar. However, we are not to believe that there was a nation of Amazons, who lived without having any intercourse with men. But in those ages and countries where everyone lived a rude and pastoral life, it is not to be wondered at that women who were bred up as hardy as the men, should sometimes wield the sword as well as them. We have a particular instance in the siege of Damascus of one of these women of the tribe of Himear, who shot the governor of the city dead with an arrow, to avenge the loss of her husband, who was killed by her side.

This instance may serve to justify Ariosto and Tasso, who introduce such famous warriors in their poems.

History affords us several examples of the like nature in the time of knight-errantry. These customs, which were at all times rare, appear to us at present as wholly incredible, especially since the invention of artillery, which no longer gives room for the combatant to avail himself of his valor, skill, and agility; and when armies have become a kind of regular machine, that move, as it were, by springs.

The speeches of the Arabian heroes at the head of their armies in single combat, or in ratifying a truce, are entirely in that natural taste which we find in Homer, but incomparably more enthusiastic and sublime.

In the eleventh year of the Hegira, in a battle fought between the army of the emperor Heraclius, and that of the Saracens, the Mahometan general, Derar, being taken prisoner, and the Mussulman forces being struck with a panic at the news, one of their captains, whose name was Rafi, riding up to them, cried out: "What matters it if Derar is taken prisoner or killed? God yet lives and looks upon you; fight on, countrymen." With this short and emphatic speech, he rallied them, and gained the victory.

Another cries out: "Yonder is heaven, fight the cause of God, and he will give you the dominion of the earth."

The Mahometan general, Caled, takes the daughter of the emperor Heraclius prisoner in

Damascus, and sends her home without ransom; when he is asked the reason for acting thus, he replies: "Because I hope soon to take the father and daughter together in Constantinople."

When the caliph Moaweeyah on his deathbed, in the year of the Hegira, 60, secured the succession, which till then had been elective, to his son Yezeed, he expressed himself thus: "Great God! if I have settled my son on the throne of the caliphs, from a belief that he was worthy of it, I beseech thee to confirm him on the same; but if I have only acted from the dictates of a father's fondness, I in like manner beseech thee to drive him headlong from it."

Everything that happened in those times spoke the character of a nation and people superior to all others.

Algebra was one of the inventions of the Arabians. The word itself shows it to be from the Arabian *Algarubat,* unless we would rather have it derived from the name of the famous Arabian, Geber, who was the first who taught this art in the eighth century, according to the Christian era.

THE KORAN AND THE MAHOMETAN LAW.

We have already seen what were the manners of Mahomet and his countrymen, by whom a great part of the world underwent so surprising and quick a revolution. It now remains to give a faithful description of their religion.

We have long entertained a mistaken notion that

the great progress of the Mahometan religion was wholly owing to the indulgence it gives to the sensual passions; but we do not reflect that all the ancient religions of the East allowed a plurality of wives; Mahomet reduced the number to four, which before his time was not limited at all.

It has been a matter of great dispute among politicians, whether polygamy is really beneficial to society and propagation. The eastern practice seems to have decided this question pretty clearly in the affirmative; and nature appears to give her testimony in favor of this decision, with respect to almost every species of the animal creation, where there is but one male to several females. The time lost in breeding, in bringing forth, and in the other disorders incident to the female sex, seems to call for some opportunities of reparation. The women in hot countries are too soon past their bloom, and cease to bear children. The head of a family, who places his glory and prosperity in the number of his children, has an absolute necessity for another woman to supply the place of a wife who is no longer in a condition to answer the purpose of marriage. Our laws in the West seem to be more favorable to the women; those of the East to the men and to the government. There is not one object of legislature, but which may be made the subject of dispute. But as we have not room here for entering into a dissertation, we shall confine ourselves to the

description of men and manners, without passing judgment on them.

We every day hear people exclaiming against the sensual paradise of Mahomet; but the ancients knew no other. Hercules had Hebe given him to wife in heaven, as a reward for his labors on earth. Heroes were regaled with nectar at the tables of the gods; and as man was supposed to rise again after death, with all his senses about him, it was likewise very natural to suppose that he would taste whether in a garden, or in any other mansion, those pleasures which were the objects of the senses that he still retained. And this belief was likewise that of the fathers of the Church in the second and third centuries. St. Justin, in the second part of his dialogues, expressly says, that "Jerusalem shall be enlarged and beautified to receive the saints who will there enjoy the highest pleasures, during a thousand years."

A hundred writers copying after one, tell us, that the Koran was composed by a Nestorian monk. Some have given this monk the name of Sergius; others call him Boheira. But it is evident that the chapters of the Koran were written occasionally by Mahomet during his several journeys and military expeditions. Had he this monk always at his elbow?

The Koran is not a historical book, in which the author has aimed at an imitation of the sacred writings of the Hebrews, and of our Holy Gospels;

neither is it a book containing purely a body of laws, like those of Deuteronomy and Leviticus; nor is it a collection of psalms and spiritual songs, nor a prophetic vision and allegory, like the Apocalypse: It is a mixture of all these several kinds of writing; a body of homilies, in which we meet with some historical facts, some visions, some revelations, and some laws, both civil and religious.

The Koran has become the code of jurisprudence, as well as the canonical law, with all the Mahometan nations.

The commentators on the Koran always make a distinction between the positive and the allegorical sense of the several passages in that book; that is, between the letter and the spirit. The Arabian genius is equally discernible in the comment as in the text. One of the most approved commentators has this expression to denote the letter and the spirit: "The Koran sometimes wears the face of a man, and sometimes that of a beast."

There is one thing that will always surprise the generality of readers, namely: that there is nothing new in the law of Mahomet, save only the tenet, that Mahomet is the prophet of God.

In the first place, the unity of a Supreme Being, the creator and preserver of the universe, is a doctrine of a very ancient date. The rewards and punishments of a future state, the belief of a heaven and a hell, had long been received among the Chinese, the Indians, the Persians, the Greeks, the

Romans, and the Jews, and particularly the Christians, whose holy religion seemed to sanctify this doctrine.

The Koran acknowledges the influence of angels, and genii or guardian spirits; that of a resurrection, and last judgment, was obviously taken from the Jewish Talmud and the doctrine of the Christians. The thousand years which, according to Mahomet, God will employ in judging mankind, and the manner of that judgment, are adventitious circumstances, which in no wise hinder this notion from being entirely borrowed. The sharp point over which those who arise at the last day are to pass, and from which the damned are to fall headlong down to hell, is taken from the allegorical doctrine of the Magi.

It was from these very Magi, and their "*Jannat,*" that Mahomet first took his ideas of a paradise or garden, where men, after rising again to life, with all their faculties in perfection, taste by their senses, all those pleasures which are peculiar to their nature, and which without those senses would be useless and of no effect. Here he learnt his notions of the houris, or those heavenly women, who are to be the portion of the blest, and which the Magi in their "*Sadder*" called *hourani.* Mahomet does not exclude women from his paradise, as we have so often heard reported. This is only raillery without foundation, such as every nation casts on another. He promises his followers that they shall

dwell in a delicious garden, which he calls paradise; but the height of their felicity is to consist with the beatific vision and intercourse with the supreme of all beings.

The doctrine of fatality, and absolute predestination, which seems in our days to be the peculiar characteristic of the Mahometan faith, was the opinion of all the ancients, and prevails as much in the "Iliad" as in the Koran.

With regard to legal ordinances, such as circumcision, washing, prayers, and the pilgrimage to Mecca, Mahomet in these only conformed himself to the established customs of his time. Circumcision had been a practice from time immemorial among the Arabians, the ancient Egyptians, the people of Colchis, and the Jews. Ablution, or washing, had always been recommended in the East, as an emblem of the purity of the soul.

Prayer is enjoined by every religion; that of Mahomet obliges its followers to pray five times a day; this was a great restraint, but a restraint highly laudable and respectable. Would anyone dare to complain that the creature was obliged to worship his creator five times a day?

As to the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the ceremonies to be practised in the Kaaba, and on the black stone, almost everyone knows that this had been a favorite piece of devotion among the Arabians for many ages. The Kaaba was held to be the most ancient temple in the world; and although no less

than three hundred idols were kept therein at that time, the holiness of the place was derived principally from the black stone, which was said to have been the tombstone of Ishmael. Therefore Mahomet, in order to ingratiate himself with his countrymen, made it a fundamental precept of his religion, that every believer should visit this precious monument at least once in his life.

Fasting was a religious rite observed by almost every nation, particularly by the Jews and Christians. Mahomet made it extremely strict, by extending it to a whole lunar month, or twenty-eight days, during which time it was not permitted to taste even a drop of water, or to smoke till after sunset, and the lunar month frequently falling in the midst of summer, this ceremony was found so very severe, that they were at length obliged to mitigate it, especially in time of war.

All religions recommend the giving of alms; the Mahometan is the only one that enjoins it as a lawful precept, that may not on any account be dispensed with. The Koran commands everyone to set apart two and a half per cent. of his income for this purpose, either in money or goods.

In all the positive ordinances of Mahomet, we find nothing but what was founded on the most established customs, and consecrated by long antiquity. In the negative precepts, such as those which enjoin the abstaining from any particular practice, that of not drinking wine is the only one that is new

and peculiar to this religion. This prohibition, of which the Mussulmans so much complain, and with the observance of which they frequently dispense, especially in cold climates, was given in a fiery climate, where the drinking of wine made men easily liable to the loss of their health and reason. But furthermore, it was no new thing for persons devoted to the service of God, to abstain from this liquor. Several societies of priests in Egypt and Syria, and the Nazarenes and Rechabites among the Jews, did voluntarily impose this mortification on themselves.

There was nothing in this injunction that could disgust the Arabians; and Mahomet could not possibly foresee that it would one day become insupportable to his followers in the frozen regions of Thrace, Macedonia, Bosnia, and Servia. He never imagined that his countrymen would one day penetrate into the heart of France, and Turks of his religion wave their colors on the ramparts of Vienna.

The same may be said of the prohibition of eating pork, blood, or the flesh of beasts dying of any disease; these are the laws of health. The flesh of swine in particular is a very unwholesome food in those hot countries, as well as in Palestine, which lies in their neighborhood. When the Mahometan religion spread itself into colder climates, this abstinence ceased to be reasonable; but nevertheless did not cease to be in force.

The prohibiting of all games of chance, is perhaps

the only law of which no example is to be found in any other religion. It resembles the rule of a convent, rather than a general law to be observed by a whole nation. Mahomet seems to have formed a people only to pray, to get children, and to fight.

His laws, which were all — except that of polygamy — so severe, and the plainness and simplicity of his doctrine, soon gained his religion respect and credit. And above all, the tenet of the unity, delivered without mystery, and suited to the most ordinary capacity, brought a multitude of nations to embrace his faith, even from the negroes on the coast of Africa, and those who inhabit the islands in the Indian Ocean.

This religion is called Islamism, which signifies resignation to the will of God; and this appellation was of itself sufficient to make a number of proselytes; and we may observe that Islamism has not established itself throughout one-half of our hemisphere by dint of arms only, but by enthusiasm, the art of persuasion, and, above all, by the example of the conquerors themselves, which always has the most powerful effect on the conquered. Mahomet when he first took up arms in Arabia against his countrymen, who opposed his imposture, put to death, without mercy, all those who could not embrace his religion. He was not at that time sufficiently powerful to let those live who might afterward subvert his infant faith. But as soon as he had become settled in Arabia, by dint of preaching and

the sword, his followers, when they made excursions beyond their own country, which till then they had never quitted, did not compel the strangers they conquered to become Mussulmans, but left it to their option either to profess the Mahometan religion, or pay a tribute. They were desirous of plunder, conquest, and making slaves; but not of obliging those slaves to change their belief. When they were at length driven out of Asia by the Turks and Tartars, they made proselytes even of their conquerors; and the wild hordes of Tartars became a great Mahometan nation. By this we may see that they did in fact convert more people than they conquered.

The little I have here said is a downright contradiction to what has been advanced by a number of our historians and declaimers, and even to our own generally received opinions; but nevertheless, the truth should prevail against error or prejudice, and ought never to be violated by those who write history. Although the Mussulman law-giver, who was a powerful and terrible conqueror, established his tenets by his courage, and the success of his arms, yet his religion became in time a religion of indulgence and toleration. On the other hand, the divine institutor of Christianity, who Himself lived an example of humility and peace, taught us to pardon those who had offended us; and yet we see His holy religion has, by the mad zeal of its followers, become the most insupportable of any.

The Mahometans, like us, have had their sects and scholastic disputes; but there is no truth in what is pretended of their having seventy-three different sects amongst them. This is an idle story. They pretended that the Magi had seventy; the Jews seventy-one; the Christians seventy-two; and that the Mussulmans, as being the most perfect believers, must necessarily have seventy-three. A strange kind of perfection, and truly worthy the imagination of the schoolmen of all countries.

The different explanations of the Koran among the Mahometans gave rise to two principal sects, called the orthodox and the heretic. The orthodox were the Sunnites, that is to say, the traditionists, or those doctors who were attached to the most ancient traditions which serve as a supplement to the Koran. These are again divided into four sects, one of which still prevails in Constantinople; another in Africa; and the rest in Tartary and Arabia; and are all looked on as equally necessary to salvation.

The heretics are those who deny the doctrine of absolute predestination, or who differ from the Sunnites in some points in the schools. Mahometanism has had its Pelagians, its Scotists, its Thomists, its Molinists, and its Jansenists. But yet all these sects have not produced more revolutions than among us. For a sect to occasion any great commotions in a state, it must attack the foundations of the prevailing sect, accuse it of impiety, and of being

an enemy to God and men; and must set up a certain standard of opposition that may easily be perceived and understood by the common people, and under which they may, without much inquiry, raise themselves. Such was the sect of Ali, which set itself up for a rival to that of Omar; but this grand schism was not established till about the sixth century, and reasons of state had a much greater share in this revolution than those of religion.

CHRISTIANITY.

Under Diocletian the Christians did not only enjoy that liberty of conscience, and free exercise of their religion, in which the Roman state always indulged all its subjects; but they likewise were admitted to a share in the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. Several Christians were governors of provinces; and Eusebius mentions two by name: Dorotheus and Gorgonius, who were officers of the palace, and on whom Diocletian bestowed many favors. Therefore whatever our pulpit orators have said or written against this emperor, is the effect of ignorance. So far from being a persecutor of the Christians, he raised them to such a pitch of power, that it was no longer in his power to suppress them.

THE POPES.

There are but three ways of bringing mankind under subjection, namely, by civilizing them, by giving them certain laws and regulations for their

observance; by employing religion in support of these laws; and lastly, by knocking one half of the nation on the head, in order to govern the other half with the more ease. I do not know of a fourth; and all these three require a chain of favorable circumstances. We must go back to the earliest ages of antiquity to find instance of the first; and these are very doubtful. Charlemagne, Clovis, Theodoric, Alboin, and Alaric, made use of the last; and the second has been adopted by the popes.

The pope had originally no other power in Rome than St. Augustine would have had in the little town of Hippona. And even supposing St. Peter himself to have lived in Rome, as is pretended, because one of his epistles is dated from Babylon, nay, even had he been bishop of Rome, at a time when there was certainly no particular see existing, his residence in Rome could not have given him any title to the throne of the Cæsars; and we have seen that the bishops of Rome, for the space of seven hundred years, looked on themselves in no other light than that of servants.

THE ANOINTING OF KING PEPIN.

This was an imitation of an ancient Jewish ceremony. Samuel poured oil on the head of Saul. The kings of Lombardy were thus consecrated; and even the dukes of Benevento have adopted this custom. Oil was used in the installation of bishops; and they thought to stamp a kind of religious character on

the temporal crown, by annexing to it an ecclesiastical ceremony. A king of the Goths, named Wamba, was anointed in Spain with the holy oil, in the year 674. But when the Moors became masters of that country, they soon abolished this ceremony, and the Spaniards have not revived it since.

Pepin therefore was not the first anointed sovereign in Europe, so often read of him. He had already received this holy unction from the hands of the English monk, Boniface, who was a missionary in Germany, and bishop of Mentz; and who having been a long time on his travels in Lombardy, consecrated him after the fashion of that country.

Let us not forget to observe in this place, that this Boniface had been created bishop of Mentz, by Carloman, brother to the usurper Pepin, without the concurrence of the pope; nor had the court of Rome any influence or intervention at that time in the nominating to bishoprics in the kingdom of the French. Nothing can be a more convincing proof that all laws, civil and ecclesiastical, are dictated by conveniency, maintained by force, destroyed by want of power, and changed by time. The bishops of Rome pretended to absolute authority, but had it not. The popes, when under the yoke of the Lombard kings, would have made over all their ecclesiastical authority in France to the first person of that nation who would have delivered them from the yoke they groaned under in Italy.

Pope Stephen stood in greater need of the assist-

ance of Pepin, than this latter did of him, as appears plainly by the priest's imploring the protection of the warrior. The new king caused himself to be again anointed by the bishop of Rome, in the church of St. Denis in France. This fact appears somewhat singular; for it is not customary to be crowned twice, when the first ceremony is thought to be sufficient. It should appear then, that in the opinion of the common people, there was something more sacred and authentic in the person of a bishop of Rome, than in that of a German bishop; that the monks of St. Denis, in whose church this second anointing was performed, affixed an idea of greater efficacy to the oil poured over the head of a Frank by a Roman prelate, than to that poured by the hands of a missionary of Mentz; and lastly, that the successor of St. Peter had a superior power to any other, to make a usurpation lawful.

Pepin was the first king anointed in France; and the only one that ever was so by a Roman pontiff. Clovis was neither crowned nor anointed king by Bishop Remi; and he had reigned some years before he was baptized. Had he ever received the sacred unction, his successors would undoubtedly have kept up so solemn a ceremony, which soon afterward became necessary. No monarch had been anointed before Pepin, who received the sacred unction in the abbey church of St. Denis.

It was not till three hundred years after the reign of Clovis, that Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims,

declared in his writings, that a pigeon had brought from heaven a phial called the holy ampulla. Perhaps the good prelate thought by this story to give a religious sanction to the right of anointing kings, which the metropolitans then began to exercise. This right, however, was established only by length of time, like all other customs; and these prelates did a considerable time afterward perform this ceremony on all the kings from Philip I. to Henry IV., who was crowned at Chartres, and anointed with the ampulla of St. Martin; the Leaguers being at that time in possession of the ampulla of St. Remi.

It is true, these ceremonies add nothing to the right of kings; but they seem to increase the veneration of the people.

It is not to be doubted that this ceremony of anointing, as well as the custom of carrying the kings of the Franks, Goths, and Lombards on a shield, came originally from Constantinople. The emperor Cantacuzenus tells us himself that it was a practice from time immemorial for the emperors to be carried on a shield on the shoulders of the patriarch and principal officers of the empire; after which the emperor quitting his throne, went up to a desk in the church, where the patriarch made the sign of the cross on his head, with a feather dipped in oil, which had been consecrated for the purpose. The crown was then placed on the head of the new Cæsar, by a chief of state, or a prince of the imperial family, the patriarch and people crying out: "He is

worthy." But at the anointing of the sovereign of the West, the bishop addressed himself to the people, saying: "Will you accept this person for your king?" And then the new monarch made an oath to his people, after having taken it in the first place to the bishops.

THE PAPAL POWER.

The Franks, after having conquered the Gauls, were desirous of subduing Italy likewise; the dominion of this country had always been the favorite object of all the barbarous nations, not that Italy was in itself a better country than Gaul, but it was at that time better cultivated; the towns and cities which had been built, beautified, or enlarged by the Romans, were still in a good condition; and the fruitfulness of Italy had always been a strong temptation for a restless, poor, and warlike people. If Pepin could have made the conquest of Lombardy, as Charlemagne did, he undoubtedly would have done it; and if he did conclude a treaty with Astolphus, it was owing to the exigency of circumstances, he not being sufficiently established on the throne of France, which he had lately usurped, having the dukes of Aquitaine and Gascony to contend with, whose rights to those countries were much better than those of Pepin to the kingdom of France. How then could he have bestowed so many lands on the popes, when he was forced to return to France to support his usurpation there?

Observe the different degrees through which the pontifical power has passed. The first bishops of Rome were indigent and obscure persons, who preached the word to others as poor as themselves, in cells and caverns in Rome. In the space of two centuries we find them at the head of a considerable flock; under Constantine they were rich and respected; they became patriarchs of the West, they acquired immense possessions in lands and money, and at length grew to be powerful sovereigns, and thus have in almost all things deviated from their first origin. Were the ancient founders of the Roman and Chinese empires, and that of the caliphs, to rise again to life, they would behold their thrones filled by Goths, Turks, and Tartars.

CHARLEMAGNE.

The great respect paid Charlemagne is one of the strongest proofs that success sanctifies injustice, and conquers glory. His father, Pepin, at his death, divided his dominions between his two sons, Carloman and Charles. This will was ratified in an assembly of the nation. Carloman had for his portion Provence, Languedoc, Burgundy, Switzerland, and Alsace; Charles had all the rest for his share. The two brothers always lived at variance with each other. Carloman died suddenly, leaving a widow and two children very young. Charles immediately seized on their patrimony, and their mother was obliged to fly with her children for refuge to the

court of Desiderius, king of the Lombards, whom we call Didier. This Didier was a natural enemy to the Franks, and the father-in-law to Charlemagne had as great a hatred to him, because he feared him. It is certain that Charlemagne had no greater regard for the law of nature, and the ties of blood, than other conquerors.

Charles sent several colonies of Franks to settle in the territories he had conquered. We have no instance of any prince thus transporting his subjects without their consent. You may have observed great emigrations, but no one sovereign who thus established colonies after the old Roman method. It is a strong proof of the policy and stretch of despotic power, to oblige men to quit the place of their nativity.

Desiderius was obliged to deliver the sister-in-law of Charles and her children into the hands of the conqueror. History does not inform us whether they were shut up in a cloister, as well as their protector, or whether they were put to death.

It was the custom of the senate of Rome to write to the emperor, or the exarch of Ravenna when there was one: "We humbly pray that you will order the consecration of our father and pastor." The metropolitan of Ravenna likewise came in for his share of the compliment. The pope elect was obliged to pronounce two confessions of faith. How different from the authority of the tiara! But where

is that greatness which may not be traced back to as low a beginning?

This man, who shed such a torrent of blood, robbed his nephews of their patrimony, and was suspected of incest, has, by the Church of Rome, been ranked among the number of her saints.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS IN THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE.

A young barbarian named Chram makes war on his own father, Clotharius, regent of one part of Gaul. The father causes his son to be burned, together with all his friends and accomplices who had been made prisoners. This happened in the year 559.

Europe was for so many ages like a strayed and timorous hind, devoured by hungry wolves and tigers in the midst of a desert.

Bishops had no share in the government till the reign of Pipin or Pepin, father of Charles Martel, and grandfather to the other Pepin, who made himself king; neither had they a seat in the assemblies of the French nation. They were all either Gauls or Italians, people considered as vassals; and though bishop Remi, the same who baptized Clovis, wrote to King Sicambrus the famous letter in which is the following expression: "Be sure you do not take the upper hand of the bishops, follow their councils, for so long as you act in concert with them, your administration will be smooth and easy." Nevertheless,

neither Clovis nor his successors made the clergy one of the orders of the state; and indeed the government was then altogether military, and cannot be more aptly compared than to the states of Algiers and Tunis, which are governed by a chief and a militia.

But when the majordomos, or mayors of this militia, insensibly usurped the supreme power, they endeavored to strengthen their authority, by the credit of the prelates and abbots, by calling them to the assemblies in the *Champs de mai.*

According to the annals of Mentz, it was in the year 692, that Mayor Pepin, the first of the name, procured this prerogative for the clergy; an era which has been very negligently passed over by most historians, but which is very considerable, and deserving of notice, as it laid the first foundation of the temporal power of the bishops and abbots in France and Germany.

You ask whether Charlemagne, his predecessors or successors were despotic, and if their kingdom was secured to them by right of inheritance in those times. It is certain that Charlemagne was despotic in fact, and consequently that his kingdom was hereditary, seeing that he declared his son emperor in full assembly of the states of the nation. The right is rather more doubtful than the fact. The rights of those times had the following foundation:

The inhabitants of the North and of Germany were originally a nation of hunters, and the Gauls,

who were conquered by the Romans, were either husbandmen or burghers; now a people who always went ready armed for the chase would naturally get the better of and subject a set of clowns and shepherds, who were always employed in drudgery and labor; and still more easily of the quiet citizens, who dwelt in unarmed security by their firesides. Thus the Tartars overran Asia, and the Goths marched to the very gates of Rome. All the hordes of Tartars, Goths, Huns, Vandals, and Franks were governed by chiefs. These wandering chiefs were chosen by plurality of voices, and it could not be otherwise, for what right could a thief have to lord it over his fellow robbers? The most dexterous, bold, and fortunate spoiler must at length gain the sovereignty over those who did not possess those qualifications, so effectual to a life of rapine and plunder, in as high a degree as himself. They all shared equally in the booty, and this was a law that had subsisted in all times among every tribe of conquerors. If we would have a proof of the antiquity of this law, we need only turn to the story of the Frank, who would not suffer Clovis to take a silver cup belonging to the church of Rheims from the booty, and who cut the vessel in pieces with his battle-axe, without the chief daring to oppose him.

Clovis became despotic in proportion as he became powerful. This is the usual progress of human nature. It was the same with Charlemagne; he was the son of a usurper. This son of the lawful

prince was shaven and condemned to say his breviary in a cloister in Normandy; Charlemagne was therefore obliged to observe the greatest precautions before a nation of warriors assembled in parliament. "We will ye to know," says he in one of his capitularies, "that in consideration of our humility, and the readiness with which we observe your advice, out of fear of God, that ye, on your parts, take care to maintain the dignity which God hath bestowed on us, in like manner as your ancestors acted with regard to ours."

His only ancestor, however, was his father, who had usurped the kingdom, and he himself had robbed his nephews of their birthright. He flattered the great men while assembled in parliament; but that parliament once dissolved, woe to him who dared to contradict his will.

As to the succession, it was natural for the chief of a conquering people to endeavor to gain their suffrages, in favor of his own son, to succeed him. This custom of conferring the succession by election became in time the most legal and inviolable of any, and still continues in force in the German Empire; and the right of election was deemed to belong so peculiarly to the conquering people, that when Pepin usurped the kingdom of the Franks, to whose king he had only been a domestic servant, Pope Stephen II., who was in the usurper's interest, forbade the French, on pain of excommunication, to elect for their king a descendant of any other race. This

excommunication was indeed as striking an example of superstition, as Pepin's undertaking was of boldness; but this very superstition is a proof of the right of election, and shows that the conquering nation could choose from among the descendants of its chief, the person who was most agreeable to it. The pope does not say: "You shall not choose for your king any other than the first-born of the house of Pepin," but: "You shall not choose any but one of his family."

Charlemagne says in one of his capitularies: "If of one of the three princes, my sons, there should be born a male child, whom it shall please the nation to call to the succession after his father, I will that his uncles do not oppose such succession." It is evident by this title, and a multitude of others, that the French nation had, at least in appearance, a right of election. This custom was originally that of all nations: we find it established among the Jews, the other Asiatic nations, and the Romans. The first successors of Mahomet were elected; the sultans of Egypt, and the first miramolins held their power by no other tenure, and it is only by length of time that a kingdom becomes entirely hereditary; valor, address, and necessity are the only laws.

RELIGION IN THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE.

The books called "Carolines" were written in a Latin tolerably pure, which shows that Charlemagne had succeeded in restoring literature; but, at the

same time, they furnish an incontestable proof that there were never any theological disputes carried on without invectives on both sides. The very title of these books is itself an invective. "In the name of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ," begins the book of the most illustrious and excellent Prince Charles, etc., against the absurd and audacious symbol held by the Greeks for the adoration of images. The title of this book makes King Charles to have been its author in the same manner as public edicts are issued under the name of the reigning prince, though he may have no hand in forming them. It is certain that all the subjects of Charlemagne looked on the Greeks as idolaters.

The dispute touching the Holy Ghost, which time and the erudition of the clergy afterward cleared up, was then in a state of obscurity. Several passages were quoted from the fathers, and particularly from St. Gregory of Nice, where it is said, that "one of the three persons is the cause, and the other comes from the cause. One proceeds immediately from the first, and the other proceeds from Him also, but by the means of the Son, by which means the Son reserves to Himself the property of unity, without excluding the Holy Ghost from a relation to the Father."

These authorities did not at that time appear sufficiently demonstrative, and therefore Pope Adrian II. did not come to a decision. That pontiff was very sensible that one may be a sound Christian

without being able to penetrate these profound mysteries.

In the first age of the Church it was believed that the world was near its end. This belief was founded on a passage in St. Luke, where these words are put into the mouth of our Saviour: "There shall be signs in the sun and in the moon, and in the stars, and on the earth; distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and waves roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear of those things which are coming on the earth; for the powers of heaven shall be shaken, and then they shall see the Son of Man coming in a cloud, with power and great glory: and when ye see these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand. Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away till all be fulfilled."

Several pious persons, who took this prediction according to the letter, which, say the commentators, regard Jerusalem only, thought that the world was on the point of being destroyed, and expected the approach of the last day, when Jesus Christ was to come in the clouds. Hence arose those numberless imaginary wonders that were beheld in the heavens.

One would imagine that the precise date of the establishment of our Church rites should be known, and yet we are quite in the dark concerning this period. We do not know, for instance, at what time the mass, as now celebrated, first came into

use. We are ignorant of the true origin of baptism by immersion or sprinkling, of auricular confession, and of communicating with unleavened bread, and with the bread only without wine; neither do we know who first gave the name of sacrament to marriage, confirmation, and extreme unction, or the anointing persons at the point of death.

Auricular confession was not received so late as the eighth and ninth centuries in the countries beyond the Loire, in Languedoc and the Alps. Alcuin complains of this in his letters. The inhabitants of those countries appear to have always had an inclination to abide by the customs of the primitive Church, and to reject the tenets and customs which the Church in its more flourishing state judged convenient to adopt.

The weakness of the sex was sometimes the cause that women stood more in awe of their confessors than of their husbands. Almost all those who were confessors to queens availed themselves of that private and sacred empire they had over their penitents, to wriggle themselves into state affairs; and when once a monk had gotten the ascendant over the mind of his sovereign, the rest of the fraternity took the advantage of it, and many of them made use of the credit of the confessor to wreak vengeance on their enemies.

Idolatry, or the religion of image worshippers, must certainly consist in attributing a divine power and efficacy to images, or the representation of some

particular person or thing; therefore, this could not be the religion of the Scandinavians, because they had neither painter nor sculptor among them.

THE PURGATIONS OR TRIALS.

You would know if these customs were first established by the Greek or the Latin Church? We find examples of these trials at Constantinople as late as the thirteenth century, and Pachymeres declares he was an eye-witness of it; it is probable, therefore, that the Latins received these Oriental superstitions from the Greeks.

STATE OF EUROPE AFTER THE DEATH OF LOUIS THE DÉBONNAIRE.

The fate of the world always depends on the interests of princes: a Frank and a Salian founded the kingdom of France. The son of Pepin, a mayor or majordomo of the palace, held the empire of the Franks, which was ever divided by the quarrels of three brothers. These unnatural children, Lotharius, Louis of Bavaria, and Charles the Bald, after spilling a deluge of blood at Fontenay, at length dismembered the empire of their father Charlemagne by the famous peace of Verdun, by which Charles the Bald had France; Lotharius Italy, Provence, Dauphiny, Languedoc, Switzerland, Lorraine, Alsace, and Flanders; and Louis of Bavaria, or the Germanic, had Germany.

It is from this epoch that the most learned his-

torians begin to give the name of French to the Franks. From this time Germany may date her private, as well as public laws; and this was the origin of the hatred between the Germans and the French. Each of the three brothers was disturbed in the enjoyment of his portion by ecclesiastical disputes, and those divisions and bickerings which always arise between parties who have been compelled to make peace against their wills.

In the midst of these discords and dissensions, Charles the Bald, the first sole king of France, and Louis of Bavaria, the first sole king of Germany, called a council against Lotharius, and this Lotharius I. is emperor, though stripped of his dominions in France and Germany.

THE NORMANS.

The invention of battering rams to make a breach in walls, is of as ancient a date as walls themselves, for mankind are as industrious to destroy as to raise up. And here I must beg leave to step aside from my subject for a moment to observe that the Trojan horse was absolutely the very same kind of engine, to which was fixed a horse's head of brass, in like manner as was afterward that of a ram's. This we are told by Pausanias in his description of Greece.

SPAIN AND THE MOORS.

The Barbarians who overran the greatest part of Europe in the beginning of the fifth century, laid

waste this country as well as they had done others: but how happened it that Spain, who defended herself so bravely against the incursions of the Romans, fell so suddenly a prey to the Barbarians? The reason was this: At the time she was attacked by the Roman arms she abounded in patriots, but when once subjected by that republic, her people became slaves, ill treated by effeminate masters, and she soon fell a prey to the Suevi, the Goths, and the Vandals. After these latter came the Visigoths, who now began to settle themselves in Aquitaine and Catalonia, while the Ostrogoths were subverting the Roman Empire in Italy. These Ostrogoths and Visigoths were, as we know, outwardly Christians, but not of the Roman Church, nor that of the Eastern emperors, who reigned at that time, but of the communion which had been long received by the Greek Church, and which believed in Jesus, but without admitting his equality with the Father. The Spaniards, on the contrary, were attached to the rites of the Roman Church. Thus the conquerors and the conquered were of different faiths, which contributed to render the yoke of the latter more heavy. The dioceses were divided between Arian and Athanasian bishops, as in Italy; a division which still added to the suffering of the nation. The Visigoth kings wanted to do the same in Spain as we have seen done since in Italy by the Lombard king, Lotharius, and which Constantine did at his accession to the throne of the empire, that is, to

unite, by a liberty of conscience, people who were divided by their particular tenets.

Leovigild, king of the Visigoths, was desirous of uniting those who were the advocates of consubstantiality and those who were against it. His son, Hermenegild, rebelled against him. There was at that time a petty king of the Suevi who was in possession of the country of Galicia, and some places in its neighborhood. The rebellious Hermenegild made an alliance with this prince, and for a long time carried on the war against his father. At length, after refusing all invitations to return to his duty, he was defeated and taken prisoner in Cordova, where he was killed by one of his father's officers. The Church of Rome has canonized him, regarding only that he fought for her religion, without considering that he made that religion a pretext for an unnatural rebellion against his father.

This memorable event happened in the year 584, and I relate it only as one of the many instances of the deplorable state to which Spain was then reduced.

The kingdom of the Visigoths was not hereditary. The bishops, who had then the same authority in Spain which they acquired in France under the Carlovingian race, raised up and deposed princes, and the leading men of the state, at their pleasure. This was another source of continual disturbances; for example, they elected the bastard, Liuva, to the prejudice of his brothers born in lawful wedlock:

and this Liuva having been assassinated by a Gothic captain, named Witteric, they chose this Witteric to succeed him.

Wamba, one of the best of their kings, and of whom we have already spoken, having fallen sick, was clad in sackcloth, and submitted to do public penance by the advice of the priest, as the only method of obtaining a cure: he received his cure, but afterward was declared incapable of exercising the kingly office, having done penance, and was shut up for seven days in a monastery. This precedent was quoted in France at the deposition of Louis the Feeble.

The first Gothic conquerors who subjected Spain, did not suffer themselves to be treated in this manner. They founded an empire which extended from Provence and Languedoc in Europe, to Ceuta and Tangiers in Africa; but this empire being badly governed, soon fell to ruin. There were so many rebellions in Spain, that at length King Wilika disarmed his subjects and dismantled several towns. In so doing he compelled them to obedience, but deprived himself of their assistance. In order to gain the clergy on his side, he convoked an assembly of the nation, and made an edict, by which bishops and priests were permitted to marry.

The conquerors of Xeres did not make an ill use of the success of their arms. They left the conquered the full enjoyment of their possessions, laws, and worship, contenting themselves with a tribute,

and the honor of being masters; and not only the widow of King Roderick espoused young Abdalis, but after her example the Moors and Spaniards frequently mingled bloods. The latter, who had been scrupulously attached to their religion, quitted it in great numbers, in order to take the title of Mozarabians, which signified half Arabians, instead of that of Visigoths, which their nation till then had borne. This name Mozarabian had nothing in it mortifying to the vanquished, as the Arabians were the most gentle of all conquerors, and brought with them into Spain new arts and sciences.

The title of Don is an abridgment of Dominus, a title which the Roman emperor Augustus thought too ambitious, because it signified master. It was afterward given to the Benedictine monks, then to the noblemen of Spain, and lastly to the king of that country. The lords of fiefs then first began to assume the title of *ricos hombres* — rich men — rich signifying he who had great possessions in land, the only wealth the Spaniards had at that time. The dignity of grandees was not then known, and the title of great was not in use till three centuries afterward, in the reign of Alphonso, tenth of the name, king of Castile, at which time Spain began to be in a flourishing condition.

THE GREEK EMPIRE.

Basilius, who murdered the emperor Michael the Young, is the same who was thought just when he deposed the patriarch Photius.

Did not the Switzers set fire to their villages and hamlets in order to remove into Languedoc when Cæsar compelled them to return and till their grounds? And what were Pharamond and Clovis but barbarians who had transplanted themselves, and did not meet with a Cæsar?

A MONK WHIPPED FOR THE SAVING GRACE.

In the year 814 a Benedictine monk, whose name was John Gottschalk, having raised some trifling contest concerning predestination and grace, the event proved how dangerous it is to meddle with these matters, and especially to dispute against a powerful antagonist. The same monk having taken certain expressions of St. Paul and St. Augustine in too literal a sense, thought proper to preach up the absolute and eternal predestination of a few elect, and a great number of damned. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, a man as violent in Church matters as in those of State, sent for this monk, and told him that he was predestinated to be tried, condemned, and whipped; and accordingly he was excommunicated in one of the lesser councils, held in the year 850, and then stripped naked in the presence of the emperor Charles the Bald, and flogged by monks from his shoulders to his legs.

This trifling contest, in which both parties were equally in the wrong, had been but too much revived. In Holland you will find the synod of Dordrecht, which consisted of persons who favored the

doctrine of Gottschalk, treating those of Hincmar's sect there worse than with a simple flogging. Again, in France, you will find the Jesuits of Hincmar's party persecuting to the utmost of their power the Jansenists, who were attached to the tenets of Gottschalk. These disputes will end only when the number of philosophers shall exceed that of teachers.

THE EMPEROR OTHO.

How could the emperor Otho, by an act confirming one made before by Charlemagne, bestow the sovereignty of Rome, which Charlemagne himself never bestowed? How could he make a present of the duchy of Beneventum, of which he was not in possession, and which at that time belonged to its own duke? How could he give away Corsica and Sicily, when those islands were occupied by the Saracens? Either Otho must have been greatly deceived, or this act is spurious.

The imprudence of John XII. in inviting the Germans to Rome proved the source of all those troubles which Rome and Italy afterward experienced.

OTHO II., AND III., AND ROME.

Never was Rome and the Latin Church held in a more contemptible light at Constantinople than in these unhappy times. Leutprandus, ambassador from the emperor Otho I. to the emperor Nicephorus Phocas, tells us that the inhabitants of Rome were not called Romans, but Lombards, throughout

the Imperial city, and the bishops of Rome were looked on only as schismatic banditti. St. Peter's having dwelt at Rome was considered as an absurd fable, founded wholly on an expression of that apostle in one of his epistles, where he says he had been at Babylon, which had been interpreted to mean Rome. The Saxon emperors were also held in as low esteem at Constantinople, being looked on as a set of barbarians.

And yet the court of Constantinople itself was very little superior to that of the German emperors; but there were more trade, industry, and riches in the Greek Empire than in the Latin, for everything had fallen to decay in the West since the glorious days of Charlemagne. Brutality, debauchery, anarchy and poverty prevailed in every state, and ignorance seemed to lord it with universal sway, and yet we do not hear of a greater number of miracles in these days than in other times. Every age has had them, and it is only since the establishment of academies of arts and sciences in Europe, and the people are become more enlightened, that we no longer meet with them; or if, by chance, some do now and then make their appearance, sound natural philosophy soon reduces them to their real value.

HENRY I. OF FRANCE MARRIED A RUSSIAN PRINCESS.

We do not know whether that Russia from which this princess came was Black, Red, or White Russia; whether this princess was born a pagan, a

Christian, or a Greek; whether she changed her religion when she was married to the king of France; nor how in those days, when all communication between the different nations and kingdoms of Europe was so very rare, the king of France met with a princess of the country of the ancient Scythians; nor who proposed this match.

FRANCE IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

In general, if we compare the state of France in the tenth and eleventh centuries with the present one, human nature will appear to have been then in its infancy, respecting government, religion, commerce, the arts and sciences, and the rights of the people.

It was in particular astonishing to behold the abject and scandalous state of the Church of Rome, and the power she had over all minds in the midst of her humiliation; the crowd of different popes created by the emperors; the slavish condition of those pontiffs; their exorbitant power when they became masters; and the great abuse they made of that power. Sylvester II., who was the same Gerbert who made such a noise on account of his learning in the tenth century, and was even thought to be a magician, because he had learned a little arithmetic and some few elements of geometry from an Arabian: this man I say, who had been preceptor to Otho III., was driven from his archbishopric of Rheims, by King Robert, and afterward created pope

by Otho III., is still reputed to have been a man of letters, and a wise pope. And yet Adhemar Chabanois, his contemporary and admirer, tells us the following story of him in his chronicle:

Guy, viscount of Limoges, a French nobleman, had some dispute with Grimoad, bishop of Angoulême, touching certain rights belonging to the abbey of Brantome. The bishop excommunicates the viscount; and the latter imprisons the bishop. Such violent proceedings were but too common all over Europe, where force held the place of law.

So great was the reverence paid to the see of Rome in these times of general anarchy, that the bishop — after being released from his confinement — and the viscount both went from France, to plead their cause before Pope Sylvester II. in full consistory. When, who would believe it! the viscount was sentenced to be drawn asunder by four horses; which sentence would most certainly have been executed on him had he not found means to make his escape. The outrages committed by this nobleman, in causing a bishop to be imprisoned who was not his subject; the penitence he expressed for the same; his submission to the authority of the Roman pontiff; and the sentence equally absurd and inhuman of the consistory, altogether form a most lively portrait of the character of those brutal and uncivilized times.

THE CONQUEST OF ENGLAND BY WILLIAM, DUKE OF NORMANDY.

The monks tell us that Edward was the first king in Europe who had the gift of curing the king's evil. He had already restored sight to seven or eight blind persons; when a poor woman who was afflicted with an obstruction, applied to him for relief, he cured her instantly by touching her, and making the sign of the cross; so that from a state of barrenness, she afterward became the mother of children. The kings of England ever afterward arrogated this healing power to themselves; they did not indeed pretend to make the barren fruitful, or to restore sight to the blind; but to touch for the king's evil, which they frequently did without curing them.

St. Louis, king of France, as lord paramount over the kings of England, touched likewise for the king's evil; and his successors preserved the same right. William III. of England neglected it; and the time will come when reason having made a little more progress in France, will totally abolish this custom there.

The custom of keeping a number of concubines, authorized throughout all the East, and by the Jewish law, was prohibited in the Gospel dispensation. Nevertheless, general practice still gave a sanction to it; and so far was it from being considered as a matter of shame, that William the Con-

queror frequently used to sign William the Bastard. There is still a letter of his extant, written to Allen, count of Brittany, with this signature. Bastards frequently shared in the inheritance left by their father; for in all countries where men were not governed by fixed laws, it is certain that the will of the prince would always be the reigning code.

The old chronicles tell us, an esquire named Taillefer or Cut-Iron, being at the head of the Norman army on horseback, sang forth the famous song of Roland, which was so long in the mouth of every Frenchman, and of which there is not the least fragment remaining. This same Taillefer, after singing this song, in which he was accompanied by all the army, clapped spurs to his horse, and rode into the midst of the English forces, where he was presently cut in pieces.

Some writers term the crowning of William a free election; an act of authority of the Parliament of England. It is indeed the authority of slaves, trained to war, who grant their masters the liberty of scourging them.

William having received a consecrated banner from the pope, when he set out on his English expedition, in return now sent his holiness the banner of King Harold, who had been slain in the battle, and a small share of the small treasure, which a king of England in those times could be supposed to be possessed of. This was a considerable present, however, for Pope Alexander II., who was still dis-

puting his see with Honorius II., and who, in consequence of a long civil war in Rome, was reduced to a state of indigence. Thus a barbarian, the son of a prostitute, and the murderer of a lawful king, divides the spoils of that king with another barbarian; for, take away the titles of duke, king, and pope, and we shall have only the action of a Norman thief, and a Lombard receiver.

EUROPE IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

The dukes of Muscovy, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, were not called czars or tsars, or tchards; nor did they assume this title till after they became masters of those countries about Kazan, which belonged to certain tsars. Tsar is a Slavonic term, taken from the Persian language; and in the Slav Bible, King David is called Tsar David.

Albert, surnamed the Great, made a journey into Poland, purposely to root out their shocking customs; but it was a considerable time before he could succeed. All the rest of the nation lived after a manner equally savage, the true state of human nature, before it had been changed by art.

We are not told whether the Cid's wife, Chimene, embraced the Christian religion. The Moors at that time passed for a people of great consequence; and an alliance with them was deemed a high honor. The surname Rodriguez was Moorish; and hence the Spaniards were called *Morenos*.

From the middle to the latter end of the eleventh century the Cid rendered himself famous in Europe. This was the golden age of chivalry, but at the same time was the era of the insolent attempts of Gregory VII., of the misfortunes of Germany, and of the first crusade.

RELIGION AND SUPERSTITION IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

Those who were called Manichæans, and those who were afterward named Albigenses, Vaudois, Lollards, and who appeared so often under different names, were remnants of the first Gaulish Christians, who were attached to several ancient customs, which the Church of Rome thought proper to alter afterward; as likewise to certain vague opinions, which that same Church adopted in process of time; for example, these primitive Christians knew nothing of image worship. They have never instituted auricular confession. We must not suppose, that, in the time of Clovis, or those preceding his reign, the inhabitants of the Alps were adepts in the dogma of transubstantiation, and such like. In the eighth century, Claude, archbishop of Turin, adopted most of those opinions which at present constitute what is called the Protestant religion, and pretended that they were those of the primitive church. There is almost always a small flock separated from the principal one; and from the beginning of the eleventh century, this small flock was

butchered or dispersed, whenever it attempted to show its head.

" It is evident," says Ratram, " that the bread and wine do not undergo any change, and therefore they must be the same that they were at first;" and concludes with the quotation from St. Augustine, " that the bread, which is called the body, and the wine, which is called the blood, are emblems, because the whole is a mystery."

In whatever manner Ratram himself, or others, might understand this, they wrote against him. And much about the same time another Benedictine monk, named Pascasius Rathbert, passed for the first person who had explained the general opinion in express terms, by saying: " that the bread was the real body of our Lord, which was brought forth by the Virgin; and the wine mixed with the water, the real blood which flowed from his side, absolutely, and not figuratively." This dispute gave rise to the sect of the Stercorists or Stercoranists, who had the boldness to examine physically an object of faith; and pretended that the consecrated elements must undergo digestion, and be evacuated again like common aliments.

As these controversies were all carried on in Latin, and as the laity were in those times wholly occupied in warlike affairs, they seldom took part in such scholastic disputes; and by a happy consequence, they produced no mischievous effects. The common people had in general a vague and obscure

idea of holy mysteries, and almost always received their articles of faith as they did their money, without being at the pains to weigh or examine it.

It was after the controversy and condemnation of Berenger, that the Church instituted the ceremony of elevating the host; that the people in having the object of their adoration before their eyes, might no longer doubt of its reality, which had been so warmly disputed. But the term transubstantiation was not annexed to this mystery, nor adopted till the year 1215, at the Lateran Council.

The opinion of Scotus, Ratram, and Berenger was not entirely buried, but was preserved by some of the clergy, from whom it was transmitted to, and received by the Vaudois, the Albigenses, the followers of Huss, and the Protestants, as we shall see hereafter.

You may have observed, that in all the disputes which have armed the Christians against each other, since the first rise of their Church, the see of Rome had always sided with that doctrine which tended the most to degrade the human understanding, and obscure the light of reason. I here speak only as a historian; I set aside the inspiration and infallibility of the Church, which make no part of history. It is certain, that, in making marriage a sacrament, they rendered conjugal fidelity a greater virtue, and adultery a more heinous crime; and that by inculcating the belief of the real presence of God in the bread and wine which were taken into the stomach,

they filled the mind of the communicants with a more reverential awe for the mystery of the eucharist. What reverence was not due to those, who could with a few words change a common aliment into the divine nature, and especially for the chief of a religion that could operate such a prodigy? When human reason, left to itself, began to examine this mystery, the object of former veneration became lessened in the general esteem; and the multiplicity of priests, by rendering this miracle too common, made it at length less respected by the people.

And here we must not forget the custom which began to be introduced in the eleventh century, of buying off the punishments of the dead, by the alms and prayers of the living; and freeing their souls from purgatory, and the establishing a solemn festival for this act of piety.

The belief in a purgatory, as well as that in a hell, is of the most ancient date; but it is nowhere so clearly expressed, as in the sixth book of Virgil's "Æneid," in which we meet with most of the mysteries of the religion of the Gentiles. The passage I mean is the following:

Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt, etc.

This notion was by degrees adopted and sanctified by the professors of Christianity; and some carried it so far as to believe that we might by prayer change the decrees of Providence, and obtain of God the immediate salvation of a soul condemned

to undergo a temporary punishment in the next life.

Cardinal Peter Damien, the same who relates the story of King Robert's queen being delivered of a monster, tells us, that a pilgrim, in his return from a voyage to Jerusalem, was cast by a tempest on a desert island; where he found an old hermit, who told him that the island was inhabited only by devils, and that the neighborhood of his cottage was entirely covered with flames, into which the devils used to cast the souls of the dead; and that these same devils were incessantly crying and howling against St. Odilon, abbot of Cluny, who was their mortal enemy, and whose prayers, they said, with those of his monks, robbed them of some soul almost every day.

This relation being made to Odilon, he instituted the festival of the dead in his convent. The principles of humanity and piety, which constitute the basis of this institution, may in some measure serve as an excuse for the fable of the pilgrim. The Church soon adopted this solemnity, and made it an obligatory one. Great indulgences were annexed to those who offered up prayers for the dead; and if it had stopped there it would have been an act of devotion; but it soon degenerated into an abuse. These indulgences were sold at an extravagant price, and the mendicant friars in particular made people pay for taking the souls of their friends out of purgatory. Nothing was talked of but apparitions of

deceased persons, who complained that their souls were suffering in purgatory, and requiring them to be released, with denunciations of sudden death and eternal punishment to those who refused to perform this duty. In a word, fraud and extortion succeeded to pious credulity; and this was one of the reasons which in process of time lost the Church of Rome one-half of Europe.

THE EMPEROR HENRY IV.

Let us stop for an instant to contemplate the exhumated corpse of that famous emperor Henry IV., a prince still more unfortunate than Henry IV., king of France. Let us examine whence came such repeated humiliations and misfortunes on the one hand; and on the other, such a bold exertion of power, so many shocking actions deemed holy, so many crowned heads made the victims of religion; and we shall find that the true cause of all these calamities and disorders was in the common people, who are always the foremost to arm the hands of superstition. It was on account of the blacksmiths and butchers that this emperor appeared barefooted before the bishop of Rome. It is the common people who, always slaves to superstition themselves, are for having their masters loaded with the same yoke. When once a prince suffers his subjects to be blinded by fanaticism, they will soon oblige him to appear as fanatic as themselves; and if he attempts to throw off the bondage which they are

so fond of wearing, they will rebel against him. Though he may perhaps imagine that the more weighty he makes the chains of religion — which ever ought to be light and gentle — the more submissive his people will be; the event will show him that his subjects will make use of those chains to fetter him on his throne, or drag him from it.

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA.

The pope, on his side, took the same oath as the emperor and his officers. Such was at that time the state of the western part of Christendom, that the two principal personages of this little portion of the world, one of whom boasted himself the successor of the Cæsars, and the other of Jesus Christ, were both obliged to take an oath to each other, that they would not be assassins during the time of the ceremony.

The crowning or consecrating of a pope was at that time attended with as extraordinary ceremonies, and which partook more of simplicity than barbarism. The pontiff elect was seated on a close-stool called the *Stercorarium,* and afterward on a marble chair, where they presented him with the two keys; from thence he was removed to a third chair, where he was presented with twelve colored stones. All these customs have been abolished.

The Germans always wanted to be masters in Italy, and the Italians were always determined to support their liberties. And most certainly they

had a more natural right to that liberty than any German could have to be their master.

The Milanese set the example. The citizens became soldiers, surprised a party of the emperor's troops near Lodi, and defeated them. Had they been seconded by the other cities, Italy would have put on a new face. But Frederick had time to recruit his army.

THE FEUDAL LAW.

The emperor Frederick Barbarossa abolished the feudal law in the year 1158: a law which had been established by custom, and which that custom still maintained in the empire, notwithstanding all his care, whenever the great vassals were powerful enough to make war against their prince. It remained in full force in France till the extinction of the house of Burgundy. In England the feudal government soon gave place to the liberty of the subject; and in Spain it submitted to the absolute power of the sovereign.

In the beginning of the race of Hugues or Hugh, commonly called the Capetian race, from a nickname given to that king, all the little vassals were in arms against the great; and the kings of France were frequently at war with the barons of the duchy of France. The race of the ancient Danish pirates who reigned in Normandy and England, always countenanced these dissensions; on which account Louis the Fat found so much difficulty in reducing

the sieur de Couci, the baron de Corbeil, the sieur de Montlhéry, and another sieur of the village of Puiset, the lord of Baudouin and of Châteaufort; and we find that he did not dare to condemn, or put to death these rebellious vassals. Things are greatly changed in France since that time.

England, from the time of Henry I., was governed in the same manner as France. In the reign of Stephen, son of Henry I., they reckoned no less than one thousand fortified castles or strongholds in England. The kings of France and England could do nothing then without the consent and assistance of a number of barons; and these times were, as we have seen, the reign of anarchy and confusion.

DIVORCE OF LOUIS THE YOUNG AND HIS QUEEN.

This divorce makes one of the greatest objects of the common law, which historians ought to have well understood. The marriage was dissolved at Beaujenci, by a council of bishops, on the idle pretext that Eleanor was second cousin to Louis, and moreover, the Gascon lords were obliged to make oath that the married couple were within the decrees of consanguinity, as if the truth of such a relationship could not be known but by an oath. It is very certain that this marriage was null, according to the superstitious laws of those times of ignorance. But if the marriage was null, the two daughters who were born of that marriage must have been bastards; and yet they were both married afterward

as legitimate daughters of Louis; and of consequence the marriage of their mother Eleanor was reputed valid, notwithstanding the decision of the council. The council then did not pronounce this marriage null, but only declared it to be dissolved, and a divorce; and in the whole proceedings the king never once accused his wife of adultery. Therefore it was a divorce on the most frivolous motive.

It remains to know how, agreeable to the rules of the Christian religion, Eleanor and Louis could again be married to each other. St. Matthew and St. Luke declare plainly that a man cannot marry after having put away his former wife; nor can any man marry a woman who has been so put away by her husband. This law was delivered from the mouth of Christ himself, and yet it has never been observed. What a source for excommunications, interdicts, commotions, and jars, had the popes then intermeddled in such an affair with which they have since so frequently concerned themselves!

While Thomas à Becket was in France he excommunicated several of the lords of Henry's privy council; and wrote in the following manner to that prince: "It is true that I owe you respect as my king, but at the same time I owe you chastisement as my spiritual son." And in the same letter he threatens him with being changed into a beast like Nebuchadnezzar; though there does not seem to have been any great resemblance between Henry and the king of Babylon.

HENRY II., KING OF ENGLAND.

Henry II., king of England, made the conquest of Ireland, in the year 1172. It was at that time a savage country, and had been subdued in part by the earl of Pembroke, with only one thousand two hundred men. This nobleman wanted to secure his conquest; but the king being stronger than he, and being, moreover, furnished with a bull from the pope, easily made himself master of the whole island, which ever afterward remained under the English dominion; though in a barren, poor, and useless condition, till toward the end of the sixteenth century, when agriculture, manufactures, arts, and sciences had been all carried to perfection there; so that Ireland, though a conquered country, is now one of the most flourishing provinces in Europe.

Who were the peers of France, that passed sentence of death on King John of England? They could not be the clergy, for they cannot assist at a trial on life and death. We are not told that there was at that time in Paris a count of Toulouse, a count of Flanders, or a duke of Burgundy. The accused person was himself duke of Guienne and Normandy. The assembly of the peers was composed of barons, holding immediately of the crown. This is a point of great importance, which our historians should have well examined, instead of amusing themselves with drawing up armies in battle array,

or tiring our patience with relations of sieges of castles that no longer exist.

LOUIS VIII.

Louis did not long keep possession of the English throne. The people of England, who had a liking to Henry, afterward Henry III., obliged Louis to restore to that prince the crown which he had taken from his father, John. Thus Louis was only made use of by them as a scourge to chastise a monarch who had displeased them. The pope's legate, who was then in London, dictated as master the conditions on which Louis was to quit England; and, after having excommunicated that prince for presuming to keep possession of the throne against his holiness's decree, compelled him to do penance for the same, by keeping a tenth of two years of his revenue; his officers were taxed at a twentieth; and his chaplains, who had come with him out of France, were obliged to go to Rome to ask absolution, which they did; and were ordered as a punishment, to appear at the door of the cathedral church at Paris, at the four great feasts in the year, barefooted and in their sheets, with each a discipline in his hand, with which he was to be flogged by the canons. It is said that they performed a part of this penance.

This incredible transaction passed in the reign of a courageous and able king, Philip Augustus, who suffered, without murmuring, this indignity to be put on his nation and his own son; so that the

victor of Bouvines could not be said to have ended his career with glory.

This is the proper place to controvert a strange story, which has been told by all our historians, and which is as follows: Louis VIII., being ill of a dangerous malady, his physicians thought that there were no means left to save his life but the use of women. Accordingly a young girl was conveyed into the bed to him; but the king, who chose rather to die than stain his soul with a mortal sin, sent the damsel away. Father Daniel has caused a copperplate of this memorable exploit to be prefixed to the life of Louis VIII., in his "History of France," as the most glorious action of this prince.

This fable has been since applied to several monarchs, and is like all the other tales of this kind, the pure effect of the ignorance of the times. But at present we should certainly know that the use of women is by no means a cure for sickness; and moreover, if Louis VIII. could not have recovered by any other means, there was Blanche, his queen, the handsomest woman of her time, who would have been able to perform this cure. However, Father Daniel will have it that Louis made a truly noble end, by resisting his passions, and fighting against the heretics. It is true that, a little before his death, he went into Languedoc to take possession of part of the country of Toulouse, which young Amaury, count de Montfort, son of the usurper of that name, had sold to him. But can it be said, that buying a

country of a person who had no right to that country, was fighting for the faith? A person of sound understanding, when he reads history, will find little else to do than to refute errors.

It was through a letter of Pope Gregory IX. that it was believed in those times that there really was a book entitled "*De tribus Impostoribus*"—"of the three impostors." This book has never been found.

PALESTINE AND THE CRUSADES.

All the country to the south of the Mediterranean and of Egypt, from Esongeber to the Red Sea, is nothing but a collection of sandy deserts or hideous mountains. These rocks and sands, which are now inhabited by a set of Arabian freebooters, made the ancient country of the Jews. They afterward extended themselves a little northward into Arabia Petræa. The small country of Jericho, which they invaded, was one of the best they possessed; the soil of Jerusalem being much more dry and parched, and not having the advantage of being situated on a river. There is very little pasture in this country, so that the inhabitants, not being able to find food for horses, are obliged to make use of asses as their only beasts of carriage. Their oxen are very poor, but sheep thrive a little better; they have olive trees in some places, which produce tolerable fruit. There are likewise some palm trees here and there; and this country, which the Jews made habitable after infinite pains and labor, was

to them a paradise, in comparison with the deserts of Porain and Cades-Borne.

St. Jerome, who lived so long in Bethlehem, acknowledges that they were troubled with continual droughts in that barren, rocky, and sandy country, where it seldom or never rains, and where there are no springs or fountains; the want of which the natives supply by vast cisterns.

Antiquity had never beheld an instance of emigration, like that in the first crusade to Palestine, set on foot by religious enthusiasm. This epidemic madness now made its appearance for the first time, in order that there might be no scourge, with which mankind had not been afflicted.

A certain French count, having had the insolence to seat himself by the side of the emperor, Alexis Comnenus, and being asked by that prince's order who he was, made this answer: "I am descended of a right noble family. When in my own country, I went every day to the church which is in my own lordship, where were assembled all the brave lords who had vowed to fight duels, and who prayed to Jesus Christ and the Holy Virgin to be favorable to them; but not one of them would fight with me."

Elmacim writes, that at the taking of Jerusalem in 1099, the conqueror shut up all the Jews found in the place, within the synagogues which had been granted to them by the Turks; and setting fire to them, destroyed every soul in the flames. This action

may be credited after the horrible cruelties they perpetrated on this unhappy people in their march.

In the year 1148, Louis the Young, whether he thought himself in danger from the Turks, or the prince of Antioch's troops, took his wife away privately from their vicinity, and went to Jerusalem; by which he had at least the satisfaction of fulfilling the vow he had made, and of telling St. Bernard, that he had seen Bethlehem and Nazareth. But during this journey, the few troops he had left were beaten and dispersed on all sides; and at length, three thousand of the French deserted and turned Mahometans to save their lives.

While Europe was torn in pieces by this holy war, while Andronicus Manuel ascended the tottering throne of Constantinople by the murder of his nephew, and while Frederick Barbarossa and the popes kept all Italy in arms, nature produced one of those tremendous accidents, which should make mankind enter into themselves, and reflect on their own nothingness; an earthquake more violent and extensive than that in 1755, ruined most of the cities in Syria, and also the petty kingdom of Jerusalem. The earth opened in a hundred different places, and swallowed up men and beasts. The Turks were told by their priests that it was a judgment of God on the Christians; and the Christians were taught to believe that God declared Himself in this manner against the Turks; and both parties

continued to butcher each other on the ruins of Syria.

It is said that the emperor Henry VI. demanded a hundred thousand marks of silver for the ransom of Richard, king of England; but a hundred thousand marks would, according to the present value of money, make five millions of livres, a sum which England in those days was not able to furnish: it was more likely a hundred thousand *Marques* or *Marcas* — about a hundred thousand crowns.

The Christians who followed Baldwin, count of Flanders, directed their crusade against the chief of the Christian religion, Pope Innocent III.

TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

The empire of Constantinople, which had still the title of the Roman Empire, was still in possession of all Greece, the Archipelago, and Epirus, and its dominion in Europe extended as far as Belgrade and Wallachia. It disputed the remains of Asia Minor against the Arabians, the Turks, and the Crusades; and the arts and sciences were constantly cultivated in the capital of the empire. It had an uninterrupted succession of historians, till the time that Mahomet II. made himself master of it. These historians were either emperors, princes, or statesmen, but were not therefore better writers. They talk wholly of religion, disguise facts, and aim only at a flow of words, and preserve nothing of the

ancient Greek style but its loquacity. Controversy was the favorite study of the court. The emperor Manuel, in the twelfth century, had a long dispute with his bishops on the words, "My Father is greater than I," while he was threatened by the Crusaders and the Turks. There was a Greek catechism which anathematized, in the severest manner, that well-known verse in the Koran, which says "that God is an infinite Being, who has neither begot nor has been begotten of anyone." Manuel was for taking this anathema out of the catechism. These disputes signalized and enfeebled his reign; but observe how cautiously Manuel acted with regard to the Mussulmans in this dispute. He was not willing that the Greek catechism should offer so great an insult to a victorious people, who acknowledged only one incommunicable God, and were greatly offended at our doctrine of the Trinity.

Alexis Manuel, the son of this emperor, who had married a daughter of Louis the Young, king of France, was dethroned by Andronicus, one of his own relatives. This Andronicus was himself afterward deposed by an officer of his palace, named Isaac Angelus, dragged through the streets of the capital, had one of his ears cut off, his eyes put out, and afterward boiling water poured over his body, till he expired in the most dreadful agonies.

Isaac Angelus, who punished a usurper with so much barbarity, was himself stripped of the crown by his own brother, Alexis Angelus, who ordered

his eyes to be put out. This Alexis Angelus took the name of Comnenus, though in nò way related to the imperial family of that name. It was this emperor who was the cause of the taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders.

The son of Isaac Angelus solicited the assistance of the pope and the Venetians against his cruel uncle; and in order to secure them in his favor, he renounced the religion of the Greek Church, and embraced that of the Latin. The Venetians, and some of the princes of the Crusades, such as Baldwin, count of Flanders, and Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, granted him their dangerous assistance. Such auxiliaries were equally hateful to all parties. They encamped with their forces without the gates of the city, which was still in the greatest confusion and tumult. Young Alexis, who was hated by the Greeks for having introduced the Latins, in a short time fell a victim to a new faction. One of his relatives strangled him, and seized on the red sandals, part of the imperial insignia.

The French officers and soldiers danced with some ladies in the sanctuary of the church of St. Sophia, while one of the prostitutes who followed Baldwin's army seated herself on the patriarch's throne, and from thence entertained the company with songs suited to her profession.

ST. FRANCIS D'ASSISI.

Such is the fate of enthusiasm, that St. Francis

not being able to compass his design of burning himself alive, and converting the sultan, was resolved to try the same frolic once more in Morocco; he accordingly took shipping for Spain, but, having fallen ill by the way, he prevailed on Friar Giles, and four others of his companions, to promise to go and convert the people of Morocco. Friar Giles and the four monks set sail for Tetuan, got safe to Morocco, and preached in Italian out of a cart. The Miramolin, taking compassion on their folly, sent them back again to Spain. They returned a second time, and he sent them back as before. They came again a third time, and then the emperor, incensed at their insolence, caused sentence of death to be passed on them by his divan, and with his own hand struck off their heads. By a custom equally superstitious and barbarous, the emperors of Morocco are the chief executioners in their own dominions. The Miramolins pretend to be descended from Mahomet. The first persons who were sentenced to die after the erection of their empire requested, as a favor, to die by the hands of the emperor, thinking thereby to receive a full expiation of all their sins; since which time this horrible custom has been so well kept up that Muley Ismail, the last emperor, during his long reign, put to death no less than 10,000 persons.

The death of the five companions of Francis d'Assisi is still celebrated annually at Coimbra, by a procession as singular as their adventure. It is

pretended that the bodies of these Franciscans came back to Europe after their execution, and stopped at Coimbra, in the church of the Holy Cross. Every year, on the eve of the arrival of these martyrs, the young men and women of the place go in procession from the church of the Holy Cross to that of the Franciscans. The young men and boys have nothing on them but a pair of drawers, which do not fall lower than the upper part of their thighs, and the women and girls wear an under-petticoat full as short. The procession has a considerable distance to march, and they stop several times by the way.

ST. LOUIS.

The greatest part of the large ships of burden, in which the troops of St. Louis were transported, were built in the ports of France. They were 1,800 in number. A king of France could not fit out such an armament in these days, by reason that timber of all kinds is beyond comparison dearer, all the concomitant expenses greater in proportion, and the artillery which is now used, and becomes a necessary part of the equipment, still further enhances the expense and difficulty of fitting out so numerous a fleet.

GENGHIS KHAN.

The Chinese author who has written the conquests of Genghis Khan, and whose work has been translated by Father Gaubil, assures us that the Tartars

had not the least knowledge of the art of writing; this art was wholly unknown to all the people between the province of Archangel and the Great Wall; as likewise to the Celts, the Bretons, the Germans, the Scandinavians, and all the natives of Africa on the other side of Mount Atlas. The use of transmitting to posterity the several articulations of speech, and the ideas of the mind, was one of the great refinements of society, improved and known only to some nations more highly civilized than others, and was never universally known even among those nations. The Tartars delivered their laws by oral tradition, and had no symbols to perpetuate the memory of them.

The Greeks, and before them the Asiatics, were frequently accustomed to give the name of Sons of God to their defenders or legislators, and even to successful or victorious robbers. In all the ages of ignorance divine honors were lavishly paid to whoever instructed, served, or oppressed the rest of mankind.

The monks who travelled through Tartary in the thirteenth century, tell us that Genghis Khan and his sons governed their Tartars with absolute sway; but can it be supposed that armed conquerors, who, in conjunction with their chief, went in search of plunder, to be equally shared between them; men, by nature robust, free, and used to a wandering life, making the snow their bed in winter, and the dewy fields their couch in summer, would suffer

themselves to be treated like beasts of burden by their leaders? This was far from being the disposition of the people of the North. The Alans, the Huns, the Gepidæ, the Turks, the Goths, and the Franks were the companions, not the slaves, of their barbarous chiefs. Despotic power is the work of time, and the result of a long combat between the spirit of ruling and the spirit of independence. A chief has always more ways of oppressing his companions than they of resisting, and at length money makes him their master.

The monk Planus Carpinus, who was sent in 1243 by Pope Innocent IV., to Caracerum, at that time the capital of Tartary, and who was present at the inauguration of the great Khan Octai, tells us that the principal Tartars made their khan sit down on a piece of coarse beaver's skin, and addressed him thus: "Honor the great, be just and merciful to everyone, otherwise thou shalt be so wretched that thou shalt not be worth the skin on which thou now sittest." This was not the speech of slavish courtiers.

If we compare the vast and sudden depredations of Genghis Khan and his followers, with the transactions of our days, we shall find a surprising difference between them. Our generals, who understand the art of war incomparably better than Genghis or his sons, or than many of the other conquerors of ancient times, aided with armies, a simple detachment of which, with a few cannon,

would have put to rout all these numerous hordes of Huns, Alans, and Scythians, can with difficulty take a few towns in the most successful expeditions: the reason is, that in those days there was no art in war; strength alone decided the fate of the world.

Genghis and his sons, elevated with the rapid success of their arms, thought that they would be able to conquer the whole habitable globe. With this view, Kublai Khan, after having made himself master of China, sent an army of one hundred thousand men, on board of a thousand vessels called junks, to make the conquest of Japan; and another son of Genghis, named Batou Shah, penetrated as far as the frontiers of Italy. Pope Celestine IV. sent four monks to him in the quality of ambassadors, the only set of people who would have accepted such a commission. Father Asselin says that he could only be admitted to speak to one of the Tartarian captains, who gave him the following letter for his holiness:

"If thou wouldst continue on the face of the earth, come and do homage to us. If thou obeyest not, we know what will be the consequence. Send new deputies to us, to inform us whether thou wilt be our vassal or our enemy."

The race of Genghis Khan continued a long time in China, under the name of Iven. It is to be believed that the science of astronomy, for which the Chinese were so famous, fell greatly to decay

during these revolutions; for after these times we find none but Mahometan astronomers in China, and they had almost always the care of regulating the calendar, till the arrival of the Jesuits in that empire. This is perhaps one reason of the mediocrity of the Chinese in this respect.

This is the whole of what is necessary for us to know concerning the Tartars in these distant ages. Here we meet with no civil nor canon law; no division between the throne, the altar, the courts of justice; no council, no universities, nor any of those institutions which have improved or overloaded society among us. The Tartars left their deserts about 1212, and in 1236 had conquered one-half of the hemisphere. This is all their history.

MANFRED, OR MANFREDDO.

The emperor Conrad IV. was accused of having poisoned his son Henry. You will find that in all ages the suspicion of poisoning was always more common than the fact itself.

The homage paid to the court of Rome for the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, was one source of the calamities which befell those provinces, and the imperial houses of Suabia, and of Anjou, which latter, after having stripped the lawful heirs of their right, perished itself in a miserable manner. This homage was at first nothing more than a pious and artful ceremony introduced by the Norman conquerors, who, after the example of many other

princes, put their dominions under the protection of the Church, in order to stop, if possible, by the dread of excommunication, the proceedings of those who wanted to take from them what they had usurped. The popes soon converted this obligation into a homage, and though not masters in Rome, they were lords paramount of the Two Sicilies.

The emperor Frederick II., when he died, left Naples and Sicily in the most flourishing condition, and left behind him as monuments of his reign, wise laws properly enforced, new cities built, the capital beautified, and the arts and sciences in high esteem. The kingdom was to have devolved to the emperor Conrad, his son. We do not know whether Manfreddo, or Manfred, as we call him, was the lawful son or bastard of Frederick; but the emperor seems to have considered him in the former light in his will, by which he gave him Tarentum and several other principalities in sovereignty, appoints him regent of the kingdom during the absence of Conrad, and declares him his successor in case of the death of Conrad, and his son Henry, without issue. So far, everything appeared well settled on a peaceable footing; but the Italians never yielded a voluntary obedience to any prince of German extraction. The popes hated the house of Suabia, and wanted to drive them out of Italy, and the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines still continued as strong as ever all over Italy.

The famous Pope Innocent IV., who had deposed

the emperor Frederick II. at Lyons, that is to say, who had the insolence to declare him incapable of reigning, did not fail on this occasion to assert that the children of an excommunicated pagan could not succeed to the possessions of their father.

Innocent then quitted Lyons, in order to hasten to the frontiers of Naples, in order to exhort the barons not to yield obedience to Manfred. This pontiff fought only with the arms of opinion; and you have seen what dangerous weapons these were. Manfred did not dare to trust the barons, who were all devotees, factious, and declared enemies to the house of Suabia. There were still some Saracens remaining in Apulia. His father, the emperor Frederick II., had always kept a guard composed of these Mahometans; the city of Lucera, or Nocera, was full of them, insomuch that it got the surname of *Lucera di Pagani,* or the city of infidels, though the Mahometans were far from deserving this title which the Italians gave them. No people in the world ever had less of what is called paganism in their belief, or were more strongly attached to the worship of one pure God; but the term infidel, or pagan, had rendered Frederick II. odious, on account of the number of Arabians he employed in his armies, and made Manfred still more so. Nevertheless, this latter, with the assistance of his Mahometans, quelled the revolt, and kept the whole kingdom in awe, the city of Naples excepted, which acknowledged Innocent as its only master. This pontiff

pretended that the Two Sicilies had devolved to him, and were become his property by virtue of the words he pronounced when he deposed Frederick II. and his family at the council of Lyons. The emperor Conrad arrives in person to defend his inheritance. He takes the city of Naples; the pope flies to Genoa, his native country, where he contents himself with offering the kingdom to Prince Richard, brother of Henry III., king of England, a prince who was not in a condition to fit out a single vessel, and who thanked his holiness for his dangerous present, without accepting it.

The unavoidable dissensions between Conrad, a German king, and Manfred, an Italian, did the court of Rome more service than either the politics or the anathemas of the pope. Conrad died, and it was pretended, as I have observed, that he was poisoned. The papal see gave credit to the report. Conrad left the crown of Naples to an infant only seven years of age. This was the unfortunate Conradin, whom we shall see came to a tragical end. Conradin was in Germany; Manfred was ambitious: he caused a report to be spread that the young king was dead, and made the people take an oath to him as regent, in case Conradin was alive, and as king if he was dead. Innocent had always on his side in the kingdom the faction of the Guelphs, the sworn enemies of the imperial race, and also the strength of his excommunications. He declares himself king of the Two Sicilies, and grants

certain investitures in that quality. Here, then, we at length see the popes become kings of that country which was conquered by Norman gentlemen. However, their royalty was but of short duration; the pope had an army, but as he knew not how to command it, he put one of his legates at its head; but Manfred, and his Mahometans, with some barons, who were not quite so scrupulous as the rest, routed the legate and the pontifical army.

It was in this situation of affairs that Pope Innocent, finding that he could not get possession of the kingdom of Naples for himself, bethought him of offering to the count of Anjou, brother to St. Louis, a crown of which he had no right to dispose, nor the count to accept. But the pope died in the very beginning of this negotiation; and such is generally the end of all those ambitious projects, which torment and perplex the life of man.

Innocent IV. was succeeded in the pontifical chair by Alexander IV. (Rinaldo de Signi), who adopted all the views of his predecessor. He could not, however, prevail on the brother of St. Louis, the French king, to enter into his measures. That monarch had unfortunately exhausted his kingdom by his last crusade, and his ransom while in Egypt, and was spending what little he had left in rebuilding the walls of some towns on the coast of Palestine, which were in a short time afterward demolished again by the Christians.

Pope Alexander IV. began his pontificate by sum-

moning Manfred to appear before him. This he had a right to do by the feudal law, that prince being his vassal; but as this right went always with the strongest, it was not to be supposed that a vassal, powerful in arms, would appear at the summons of his lord. Alexander was at Naples, into which he had gained admittance by his intrigues, and from thence he treated with his vassals who were in Apulia. Manfred desired his holiness to send a candidate to treat with him. The pope's council determined "that it was not agreeable to the honor of the holy see to send cardinals in that manner."

The civil war was then continued. The pope published a crusade against Manfred, in the same manner as they had been published against the Mussulmans, the emperors, and the Albigenses. It is a considerable distance between Naples and England; nevertheless this crusade was published there; a nuncio was sent into that kingdom to collect the tenth penny. This nuncio absolved King Henry III. of the vow he had made to carry the war into Palestine, on taking another, to furnish the pope with men and money for his war against Manfred.

Matthew Paris says that this nuncio raised fifty thousand pounds sterling in England: to see the English at present, we could hardly suppose their ancestors could have been so weak. The court of Rome, in order to extort this money, had flattered the king with the hopes of getting the crown of

Naples for his son, Edmund, and at the same time was treating with Charles of Anjou, being always ready to bestow the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to whosoever would bid most for it. However, all these negotiations fell to the ground at that time. The pope squandered all of the money he had raised in England in preparing for his crusade, which at last did not take place. Manfred kept his crown, and Pope Alexander IV. died without having succeeded in anything but extorting money from England.

A cobbler being made pope, under the name of Urban IV., continued what his predecessors had begun. This cobbler was born at Troyes, in Champagne. His predecessor had caused a crusade to be preached in England against the Two Sicilies; he had one preached in France, where he scattered his plenary indulgences with a liberal hand, but could raise only a small sum and some few troops, which the count of Flanders, son-in-law to Charles of Anjou, led into Italy. Charles himself at length accepted the crown of Naples and Sicily, with the consent of St. Louis, king of France; but Pope Urban died before he saw the beginning of this revolution.

Here we find three popes who waste their lives in fruitless attempts to dethrone Manfred. A Languedocian — Clement IV.—a subject of Charles of Anjou, completed what the others had begun, and had the honor to have his master for his vassal.

The popes had, about a century before, created the dignity of senator of Rome, which was in fact a revival of the power of the ancient tribunes. This senator was the chief and guardian of the municipal government; and the popes, who so freely disposed of crowns and kingdoms, could not impose a single tax on the people of Rome.

The pope's legate deprived Manfred's body of Christian burial. Kings take revenge only on the living; the Church takes hers on both living and dead.

THE CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES.

The Jesuit Daniel, in speaking of these unhappy wretches, in his history of France, calls them infamous and detestable heretics; but, with the good father's leave, men who could thus voluntarily embrace martyrdom, could not be persons of infamous morals; and most certainly there was nothing detestable in this, but the cruelty with which they were treated. We may indeed lament the blindness of these poor creatures, who imagined that God would make them everlastingly happy, because the monks thought fit to condemn them to the flames.

The spirit of justice and reason, which has of late times been introduced into the law of nations in Europe, has at length evinced that nothing could be more unjust than this war against the Albigenses, in which those concerned did not take arms to quell a people who had rebelled against their sovereign, but to oblige a sovereign to destroy his people.

What should we say in these days, if a number of bishops were to besiege the elector of Saxony, or the elector palatine, in their capitals, on the pretence that the subjects of these princes performed peaceably certain ceremonies which were not in use among the subjects of those bishops?

A council of Rome grants the count of Toulouse a pension of four hundred marks, or marques. If they were marks, it was really twenty thousand of our present francs; and if marques (marcas), about twelve hundred. The latter is more probable, if we consider that the poorer they kept him, the more he must be dependent on the Church.

The reign of St. Louis, the ninth of that name, began unhappily with this horrible crusade against Christians, his vassals. It was not the lot of this prince to acquire any great increase of glory by crusades. Blanche of Castile, his mother, a woman wholly devoted to the pope, by birth a Spaniard, and consequently abhorring the very name of heretic, and withal guardian to a young prince, who was to share the spoils of the oppressed, did all in her power to assist a brother of Simon de Montfort to complete the ravages in Languedoc. Young Count Raymond defended himself gallantly against his enemies. A war was lighted up, resembling that in the Cévennes, which has been already treated of. The priests showed no mercy to the Languedocians; and these never spared the priests. All the prisoners, on both sides, were put to death, and every

town that was taken, reduced to ashes, for the space of two years.

At length, the queen regent, Blanche, who had other enemies to guard against, and young Raymond, weary of such a scene of slaughter, and unable to support the expenses of the war, concluded a peace at Paris in 1228. One Cardinal St. Angelo was chosen arbitrator on the occasion, who imposed the following conditions, which were agreed to and executed on the side of Raymond:

The count of Toulouse was to pay ten thousand marks, or marques, for the use of the churches of Languedoc, into the hands of a person appointed by the cardinal to receive the same; two thousand to the monks of Citeaux, who were already immensely rich; five hundred to the monks of Clairvaux, who were more opulent still; and fifteen hundred to the other abbeys. He was to go and make war for five years on the Turks and Saracens, who, most assuredly, had never made war on him; he was to give up to the king of France, without any equivalent, all his dominions on this side the Rhine; for what he possessed on the other side of that river was a fief of the empire. Raymond signed this instrument, which stripped him of all his possessions, and then Cardinal St. Angelo, and the pope's legate, acknowledged him not only to be, but always to have been, a good Catholic; only they led him, for form's sake, in his shirt, and barefooted, before the altar of the church of Notre Dame, in Paris, where he

asked forgiveness of the Virgin; probably, in his heart, for having signed so infamous a treaty.

The crusades against Languedoc lasted twenty years. The desire of possessing another's property gave rise to them, and at the same time to the Inquisition. This new scourge, before unknown to all religions in the world, received its first form in the year 1204, in the pontificate of Innocent III. It was established in France as early as 1229, in the reign of St. Louis. A council held at Toulouse, in the last mentioned year, began by forbidding Christian laymen to read the Old and New Testaments. It was a downright insult to mankind to dare to say to them: "We will that you have a certain belief, but we will not, that you read the book on which that belief is to be founded."

This council ordered all the works of Aristotle to be burned, that is to say, two or three copies of them that had been brought from Constantinople during the first crusades. These were books that no one understood, and on which the heresy of the Languedocians was founded. Succeeding councils have placed Aristotle almost in the same rank with the fathers of the Church. Thus you will see, everywhere, in this great picture of the follies of mankind, the opinions of the clergy, the superstition of the people, and enthusiasm in general, continually putting on new shapes, but always tending to plunge the world in barbarism and misery, till certain academies, or assemblies of men of learning

and enlightened knowledge, arose and made the present age blush for the ignorance of its ancestors.

But it was still worse in 1237, when the king had the weakness to give leave for a grand inquisitor to reside in his kingdom, nominated by the pope. This was Robert, a Franciscan friar, who exercised this new office, first in Toulouse, and afterward in the other province.

Had this Robert only been a fanatic, there would have been, at least, the appearance of zeal in his ministry, which might have excused the cruelties he was guilty of, in the eyes of the weak and bigoted; but he was an apostate, and carried about with him an abandoned prostitute, whom he entertained as a mistress, and who, to complete the horrible scene, was herself a heretic. Thus says Matthew Paris and Mousk; and we find it proved in the *"Specilegium"* of Luke d'Acheri.

St. Louis, king of France, unhappily permitted him to exercise his inquisitional functions in Paris, Champagne, Burgundy, and Flanders. He made the king believe that there was a new sect arisen, which privately infested these provinces. On this pretence, the inhuman monster condemned to the flames, without mercy, everyone whom he thought proper to suspect, or who had not interest or money sufficient to ransom themselves out of his hands. The common people, who are frequently the best judges of those who impose on their kings, never gave this Robert any other title than that of Robert

the B———r. He was at length discovered, and his villainies and infamy brought to light; but what will strike you with a great indignation and astonishment, is, that he was only condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and you will find no mention made of this man in Father Daniel's history of France.

In this manner, then, did the Inquisition first begin in Europe; a beginning truly worthy of the institution itself. You are doubtless fully sensible that it must be the height of brutal and absurd barbarism to maintain by the means of informers and executioners, the religion of a God, who died by the hands of executioners. It is almost as contradictory, as to amass for one's own private use all the riches of a prince and his people, in the name of a God who was born and lived in poverty.

THE PAPACY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

In the year 1339, Christopher, king of Denmark, having been deposed by his nobles and clergy, Magnus, king of Sweden, sends to the pope, to ask of him Scania, and some other territories. "You know, most holy father," says he in his letter to the pontiff, "that the kingdom of Denmark depends altogether on the Church of Rome, to whom it pays tribute, and not on the empire." This pontiff, to whom the king of Sweden was a suitor, and whose temporal jurisdiction over all the sovereigns of the earth he so fully acknowledges, was James Fournier, Benedict XII., who then resided at Avignon.

However, the name is not material: the question is, to show that every prince who had a mind to usurp or recover any dominion, always addressed himself to the pope as his master. Benedict sided with the king of Denmark, and returned for answer to the above letter: "that he should not proceed against that prince till he had summoned him to appear before him, agreeable to ancient custom."

SCIENCES IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

In this century men passed from a state of brutal to a state of scholastic ignorance. Albert, surnamed the Great, taught the principles of heat, cold, dryness, and moisture; he also taught politics according to the rules of astrology and the influence of the planets, and morality by Aristotle's logic.

It often happened that the wisest institutions arose only from blindness and weakness. There is not a more noble and splendid ceremony belonging to the Church, nor one better calculated to inspire the common people with a religious awe, than that of the holy sacrament, or Corpus Christi. Antiquity could not boast anything equal to it; and yet from whence had it its rise? A nun of Liège, whose name was Moncomillon, dreamed every night that she saw a hole in the moon; she had afterward a vision, which told her that the moon was the Church, and the hole signified a festival, which was wanting in the Church. Upon this a monk, named John, assisted her in composing

the office of the holy sacrament: this festival was established at Liège, and in a short time Pope Urban X. made it an immovable feast throughout the whole Christian Church.

In the twelfth century, the black and white friars formed two great factions, which divided the cities much in the same manner as the blue and green factions did the minds of the people in the Roman Empire. However, about the thirteenth century, when the mendicant friars began to grow into credit, the blacks and the whites united against these newcomers, till at length one-half of Europe was raised against them all. The studies of the schools were then, and indeed are at present, such systems of absurdity, as, were they to be imputed to the people of Taprobania, we should think those people belied. One question was: "Whether God can produce the universal nature of things, and preserve it without there being things?" Another: "Whether God can be in a predicate sense, whether he can communicate his creating power, or render what he has made not-made, and change a married woman into a virgin?" A third: "Whether each person in the Godhead can assume which of the three natures he pleases?" A fourth: "Whether God can be a beetle or a grasshopper?" A fifth: "Whether God produces the Son by intellect, or by will; by essence, or by attribute; naturally, or of his free will?" And the doctors, who propounded these curious questions, called them-

selves the great, the subtle, the angelic, the irrefragable, the solemn, the enlightened, the universal, and the profound. These doctors were to the ancient fathers, what a pretender to wit is to a man of solid learning.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The kings of Castile, in the twelfth century, still continued to take the title of emperor of Spain. Alphonso, count of a part of Portugal, was their vassal while he was weak; but as soon as he found himself master, by right of arms, of a considerable province, he constituted himself an independent sovereign. The king of Castile made war against him as a rebellious vassal; but the new king of Portugal submitted himself and his crown to the holy see, in like manner as the Normans, who became vassals to Rome, for the kingdom of Naples. Eugenius III. confers, that is, gives the kingly dignity to Alphonso and his posterity, for an annual tribute of two pounds' weight of gold. Pope Alexander III., his successor, confirms this donation, on condition of the same payment. These popes then actually gave kingdoms. The estates of Portugal being convoked at Lamego, by Alphonso, in order to frame laws for the government of his new kingdom, began by reading the bull of Pope Eugenius III., which bestowed the crown on Alphonso; therefore, they considered it as the principal right of their sovereignty. This is an additional proof of

the customs and prejudices of these times. No new prince dared to assume the title of sovereign, nor could be acknowledged such by other sovereigns, without the permission of the pope; and the basis of all the history of the middle ages is always that the popes looked on themselves as lords paramount of every state, without exception, in virtue of being the pretended successors of Jesus Christ; and the German emperors, on their side, pretended to think, and even declared, in all their public writings, that the several kingdoms of Europe were only branches that had been torn from their empire, because they pretended to be successors to the Cæsars. The Spaniards were establishing more real rights.

Alphonso the Wise, in his book of laws, entitled "*Las Partidas*," says, "that the despotic monarch tears up the tree, and the wise monarch prunes it."

PHILIP THE FAIR AND BONIFACE VIII.

You may already have observed that, after the death of Charlemagne, there was not one pontiff who had not some intricate and violent dispute with the emperors and kings. You will see likewise, that those disputes, which are the necessary consequences of the most absurd form of government to which mankind ever submitted, continued till the age of Louis XIV. This absurdity consisted in making a foreigner master at home, and in absolutely permitting this foreigner to dispose of fiefs in your own country; in not being able to receive any part of

the revenue of those fiefs, without the permission of this foreigner, and admitting him to a share in them; in being continually exposed to see those very temples which you yourself built and endowed, shut up by his orders, and in consenting that one part of your subjects should be obliged to go and plead their cause at the distance of three hundred leagues from their own country. These, however, are but slight links of those fetters with which the crowned heads of Europe insensibly, and almost without knowing it, loaded themselves and their subjects. At present, it is well known, that if anyone was to propose to a sovereign or his council to submit to such customs, he would be looked upon as a madman: the yoke, which first appeared light, increased in weight every day. It was found necessary to alleviate it; but mankind had neither wisdom, knowledge, nor resolution enough to throw it off.

Pope Boniface VIII., by a bull which had been a long time famous, had decreed, "that no person in holy orders was to pay anything to the king, his master, without the express commission of the sovereign pontiff." Philip, king of France, did not dare immediately to order this bull to be burned; and therefore contented himself with issuing an ordinance prohibiting the carrying of money out of the kingdom, without making any mention of Rome therein. Negotiations were set on foot upon this occasion; the pope, to gain time, canonized St. Louis; and from thence the monks concluded, that

the man who could thus dispose of a place in heaven, might equally well dispose of the riches of the earth.

The king pleaded before the archbishop of Narbonne at Senlis, against the bishop of Pamiers, by the mouth of his chancellor, Peter Flotta; and the chancellor went in person to Rome to lay before the pope an account of the proceedings. The kings of Cappadocia and Bithynia were used to act in the same manner toward the Roman republic; but Flotta did more than they, for he spoke to the pope as the minister of a real sovereign to an imaginary one; expressing himself in these very words: "The kingdom of France is of this world, but that of the popes is not."

Nevertheless, the pope had the presumption to take offence at this, and writes a brief to the king, in which he thus expresses himself: "Know that you are in subjection to us, not only in spiritual, but also in temporal matters." A judicious and learned historian remarks very aptly, that this brief was preserved in an ancient manuscript in the library of St.-Germain-des-Prés, in Paris, but that the leaf has been torn out; but there is still a table of contents, that points out the place where it was, and an extract, which preserves the remembrance of it.

To this extraordinary letter, Philip returned as extraordinary an answer, which was as follows: "To Boniface, the pretended pope, little or no health: Be it known to your most supreme vanity, that we are in subjection to no one in temporal mat-

ters." The historian above mentioned observes that this answer of the king's is preserved in the Vatican. This shows that the modern Romans have been more careful in preserving curious things than the Benedictines of Paris. Some have vainly disputed the authenticity of these letters; I do not suppose that they were ever sent with the customary formalities, or presented in form, but there is not the least doubt of their having been written.

The pontiff threw out bulls on bulls, all asserting the pope to be master of all kingdoms; and that the king of France, if he did not forthwith yield obedience to him, should be excommunicated, and his kingdom put under an interdict, that is to say, a total stop put to all religious duties, even to baptism and the burial of the dead. It appears the height of contradiction the mind of man can be capable of, that a Christian bishop, who pretends that all of the same faith are his subjects, should want to hinder these pretended subjects from being Christians, and thus deprive himself, at once, of what he looks on as his own property. But you will easily judge, that the pope depended on the weakness of mankind in general, and flattered himself that the French would be ready enough to sacrifice their king, to the dread of being deprived of the sacraments; but here he was for once mistaken. They burned his bull, and the kingdom of France took arms against the pope, but without rejecting the papal authority.

You have seen the popes give away the empire, Aragon, England, Sicily, and almost every other kingdom. That of France had not as yet been transferred by a bull. But now Boniface put it on a footing with other states, and made a donation of it to the emperor Albert of Austria, whom he had some time before excommunicated, and who was now his dearly beloved son, and a prop of the Church. Observe only these words of his bull: "We bestow on you by the plenitude of our power, ... the kingdom of France, which belongs of right to the emperors of the West." Here Boniface and his datary did not certainly give themselves time to think, for if France belonged of right to the emperor, there was no room for the exertion of this plenitude of power. There was, however, some shadow of reason in this absurdity; it flattered the pretensions of the empire to all the dominions of the West, for you will always find that the German civilians were of the opinion, or at least pretended to be so, that the Roman state having delivered up itself, together with its bishop, to Charlemagne, all the West, of consequence, belonged to his successors, and that the other states were only branches torn from the empire.

Had Albert of Austria had an army of two hundred thousand men, it is certain that he would have taken advantage of Boniface's bounty; but being poor, and not well settled on his throne, he left his holiness to be laughed at for his ridiculous donation.

The king of France joined the house of Colonna, who cared as little for excommunication as himself; and who frequently checked in Rome that very power, which was so formidable in other places.

The popes who wanted to be too powerful, were, as you see, constantly giving away kingdoms, and being persecuted themselves at home.

Philip the Fair was so far from persecuting the memory of Pope Boniface, that he contented himself with barely warding off the stroke of excommunication, levelled by this Boniface against him and his subjects; and even suffered Nogaret, who had so well served him, who had acted wholly in his name, and had avenged him on Boniface, to be condemned by the successor of that pontiff, to perpetual exile in Palestine, so that all the noble beginnings of Philip the Fair terminated only in disgrace. In this great portrait of the world, you will never find a king of France, who in the long run has got the better of a pope. They may compromise matters indeed, but Rome will always be a gainer by the bargain, and France out of pocket. You will find only the parliaments of the kingdom opposing with steadiness the artifices of the holy see; and that frequently, the policy or weakness of the cabinet, the exigence of circumstances, and the intrigues of the monks, will render this steadiness of no effect.

Philip the Fair, in order to give vent to his displeasure, drove all the Jews out of his kingdom, seized on their wealth, and forbade them ever to

return again under pain of death. This arret was not issued by the parliament; it was in virtue of a secret ordinance, passed by his privy council, that Philip punished the usury of the Jews by an act of injustice, by which the people thought themselves revenged, and the king found himself enriched.

I do not know what share accrued to the pope from the confiscated estates of the Templars; but it is evident that the expenses of the cardinals and inquisitors, delegated to carry on this shocking process, amounted to immense sums. I was perhaps mistaken when I read, together with you, the circular letter of Philip the Fair, in which he commands his subjects to restore the movables, and other effects of the Templars, to the pope's commissioners. This ordinance of Philip is related by Pierre Dupuy. We thought that the pope had profited by this pretended restitution; for to whom can a restitution be made, but to those who had been proprietors? Now, in those days the popes were thought to be masters of all Church possessions; however, I have not been able to discover that the pope actually received the profits arising from the spoils of these unhappy victims.

SWITZERLAND.

Equality, the natural inheritance of mankind, still subsists as much as possible in Switzerland; you are not, by this term, to understand that absurd and impossible equality, by which the master and the

servant, the magistrate and the artificer, the plaintiff and the judge are confounded together; but that equality, by which the subject depends only on the laws; and which is the defence of the weak, against the ambition of the powerful.

There are very few republican states in the world, and these are indebted for their liberty to the rocks and seas, that serve them as bulwarks. Men in general are very seldom worthy to have the government of themselves.

THE GOLDEN BULL.

It is said in the Golden Bull, which was drawn up by Bartolus, that the seven electors were already established, therefore they must have been so, but it must have been a very short time before, for all the prior testimonies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries show us, that till the reign of Frederick II., the emperor was elected by the lords and prelates possessed of fiefs, as this verse of Hove proves:

"Emperors are elected by the unanimous consent of the lords and clergy." But as the principal officers of the household were powerful princes, and as these officers had the declaring of the person who was elected by the plurality of suffrages; and lastly, as they were seven in number, they on the death of Frederick II. assumed a right of nominating him, who was to be their master, and this was the real origin of the seven electors.

Originally the title of steward, master of the

horse, and cup-bearer, belonged to the head servants in the royal and other great families. In process of time, these officers assumed the titles of stewards and cup-bearers of the empire. Thus, in France, the person who had the furnishing of the king's household with wine, was called the chief butler of France; his master of the pantry, and his cup-bearer, became grand pantlers, and grand cup-bearers of France, though undoubtedly these officers neither served the empire, nor the kingdom of France, with bread, wine, or meat. Europe was overrun with these hereditary dignities, and those of marshals, and *grands veneurs,* or great huntsmen and chamberlains of a province; even the title of grand master of the beggars in Champagne was hereditary in certain families.

The emperor was styled in the Golden Bull, the head of the world, *caput orbis.* The dauphin of France, son of the unfortunate king John, assisted at this ceremony, and Cardinal Alba took the precedence of him; so true it is, that at that time Europe was considered as a body which had two heads, and these two heads were the emperor and the pope; and other princes were regarded in the diets and the conclaves, as no other than members that should be vassals. But remark how customs have changed; the electors, who then yielded the precedence to the cardinals, have for a long time taken precedence of those who dared to sit above the dauphin.

These various changes in customs and privileges,

and this obstinacy in maintaining a title, with so little power to support it, forms the history of the lower empire, which the popes erected, by calling in Charlemagne, and afterward the Othos, in Italy, when in a weak state. All the popes destroyed it as much as they were able; and this body, which was, and still is, called the Holy Roman Empire, was in no manner a holy Roman Empire.

EUROPE IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

A father of the Council of Constance said to John Huss: "If the sacred council should pronounce you blind, it would not signify that you had two eyes in your head; you must acknowledge yourself blind."

Read the "Life of Ezzelino d'Aromano," tyrant of Padua, so naturally and so well written by Pietro Gerardo, his contemporary. You will find that this tyrant put to death upward of twelve thousand citizens of Padua, in the thirteenth century. The pope's legate, who fought against him, put to death at least as many of the inhabitants of Vicenza, Verona, and Ferrara. Ezzelino was at length taken prisoner; and himself, with all his family, perished by the most cruel torments.

Isabella, queen of Edward II., caused to be inserted in the sentence pronounced against the

younger Spenser, that he should have those parts cut off, of which he had made criminal use with the king. This part of the sentence was executed upon him at the gallows, and she had the courage to be present while it was performed. Froissart does not hesitate to call these parts by their proper names.

EDWARD III. AND THE SALIC LAW.

One Tressel made known to Edward III. his deposition in these words, which are still preserved in the public acts: "I, William Tressel, in behalf of the parliament and people of England, declare to you, in their name, and by their authority, that I renounce, revoke, and withdraw the homage I have done to you, and deprive you of the kingly power."

It has always been a custom to strengthen opinions, of whatsoever kind, by the authority of the sacred writings. The followers of the Salic law quoted this passage in St. Matthew: "The lilies toil not, neither do they spin;" and hence concluded, that as it was the business of the women to spin, they ought not to reign in the kingdom of lilies; and yet the lilies do not toil, and a sovereign must. The lions of England, and the towers of Castile, do not spin any more than the lilies of France; and yet women may succeed to the crown of those two kingdoms. Moreover, the armorial bearings of the kings of France bear no resemblance to lilies; they appear plainly to be the heads of the old-fashioned pikes or halberds, as we find them described in the

bad verse of William the Breton. The shield of France has an iron spike in the midst of the halberd.

Not only the daughters were excluded from the succession, but the representative of a daughter's family. It was pretended that King Edward could not possess a right by his mother, which she herself had not. But there was a more cogent reason for preferring a prince of the blood to a foreigner, the native of a country naturally an enemy to France.

The emperor, Louis of Bavaria, joined the king of England with more pomp than the brewer, but with less advantage to Edward.

And here I would have you attentively remark the prejudice which reigned at that time in the German republic, which was dignified with the title of Roman Empire. This Louis, the emperor, who was only in possession of Bavaria, invested King Edward III., in the city of Cologne, with the dignity of vicar of the empire, in the presence of almost all the English and German princes and knights. He there declares the king of France to be disloyal and perfidious, that he has forfeited the protection of the empire, and by this act secretly declares Philip of Valois and Edward to be his vassals.

The English monarch soon perceived that the title of vicar was as empty in itself as that of emperor when not supported by the Germanic body; and he conceived such a dislike to the German anarchy, that when he was afterward offered the empire, he rejected it with disdain.

The beginning of this war gave a proof of that superiority which the English nation might one day have on the sea. Edward was at first to endeavor to land in France with a powerful army, and Philip to hinder him. Both monarchs fitted out in a very short time a fleet of one hundred ships each. These ships, however, were nothing more than large barks. Edward was not, at that time, like the French king, sufficiently rich to build them at his own expense. Of the hundred English ships, twenty only belonged to him, the rest were furnished by the seaport towns in England. That nation was then so poor in specie, that the pay of the prince of Wales was no more than twenty shillings a day; that of the bishop of Durham, one of the admirals, only six, and the barons had but four each; however, the poorer side conquered the richer, as is almost always the case.

Sea-fights, in those days, were more bloody than they are at present. They did not indeed use cannon, which makes so much noise, but there were many more killed on all sides. The ships boarded each other at the head or prow, and then letting down a kind of drawbridge which was fastened to the shrouds, ready for the occasion, the crews of each fought as upon firm ground. Philip's admirals lost seventy ships, and near twenty thousand men. This was the prelude to the glory of Edward, and his son, the Black Prince, who gained the battle in their own persons.

It is said that, during the siege of Calais, Philip

of Valois, finding that he could not force the besiegers' lines, in a fit of rage proposed to King Edward to decide this great quarrel by a combat of six men on a side. Edward, who was not willing to hazard the certain taking of the place on an uncertain combat, refused Philip's challenge, as the latter had before done his. We never see princes terminating their differences between themselves: the blood of the people has always flowed on these occasions.

The most memorable thing that happened in this siege, is the right which King Edward reserved to himself by the capitulation, to hang up any six of the chief citizens of the place he should decide on, and for which there appears to be no reason, as the citizens of Calais were no rebels; but, in fact, they might suppose, that if Edward really wanted to put a halter about their neck, it was not to put them to death by it, for he treated them with great humanity, and made a present to each of six gold crowns, known by the name of "rose nobles."

If it had been his intention to hang anyone, he had perhaps a right to revenge himself in this manner on Geoffry de Charmi, who, after the surrender of the town, endeavored to corrupt the English governor by an offer of 20,000 crowns, and who was taken as he was coming out of the gates, together with the chevalier Eustace de Ribaumont. This Ribaumont, in the fight, struck King Edward to the ground. The same day that monarch entertained both of them at his own table, and presented

Ribaumont with a coronet of pearls, which he himself placed on his head. It is therefore unjust to suppose that he had ever an intention to hang six citizens, who had fought well for their country.

After his victories and conquests, Edward spent his time in nothing but tournaments: enamored of a woman unworthy of his affection, he sacrificed to her his interest and glory, and at length lost all the fruits of his toils and achievements in France. He was wholly taken up with diversions, tournaments, and instituting his order of the garter. The famous Round Table set up by him at Windsor, and to which all the knights in Europe were invited, gave the first rise to all the fabulous stories of the Knights of the Round Table, which romance writers fictitiously attribute to King Arthur. At length Edward, after having outlived his fame and good fortune, died in the arms of his mistress, Alice Pierce, who, while she was closing his eyes, stole the jewels he wore about him, and even the ring from off his finger. It is difficult to say which died more miserably, the conqueror, or the conquered.

Richard II. was despoiled according to law. He was tried by the parliament as Edward III. had been. The charge brought in form against him has been preserved; among other things, he was accused of having borrowed money without repaying it; of having kept spies, and of having said that he was master of the estates of his subjects. He was condemned as a traitor and an enemy to liberty.

HENRY V. AND THE SALIC LAW.

Here, then, we see the Salic law abolished, the lawful heir to the crown disinherited and proscribed, and the son-in-law reigning peaceably, and taking away the inheritance from his brother-in-law; in like manner we have since seen William, prince of Orange, a foreigner, dispossessing his wife's father of the crown of England. If this revolution had been as durable as some others, and had the successors of Henry V. supported the edifice which had been raised by their father, and continued in possession of the throne of France, where is the historian who would have thought of disputing the justice of their cause? Mézeray, in this case, would not have asserted that Henry V. died of hemorrhoids, with which he had been afflicted as a punishment for having seated himself on the throne of the French kings. The popes would have sent bulls upon bulls to the successful usurpers of that throne. They would have been all the anointed of the Lord, and the Salic law would have been treated as an idle chimera. What crowds of Benedictines would have been ready and eager to present the descendants of Henry V. with old vouchers against this law! And how many brilliant wits would have employed their talents in turning it into ridicule, while the most celebrated preachers would have exalted to the skies Henry as the avenger of innocent blood, and the deliverer of France!

CHARLES VII. OF FRANCE.

Let the inhabitants of an extensive city, where peace, pleasure, and the polite arts reign in all their lustre, and where reason begins every day to gain ground — let them, I say, compare these with former times, and complain if they dare.

It was not till the year 1437 that Charles VII. made his entry into Paris. The citizens, who had distinguished themselves by so many massacres, went forth to meet him with all the demonstrations of affection and joy that were in use among a people then uncivilized. Seven young women, personating the seven sins which are called mortal, and a like number of others personating the divine and cardinal virtues, each carrying a scroll in her hand, received him at St. Denis's gate. He stopped some time there to see the representation of some religious mysteries, which were played by strollers mounted on stools. The inhabitants of this capital were at that time poorer than the meanest laborers are now, and the people of the provinces were still more so. It took more than twenty years to reform the state.

CUSTOMS AND ARTS IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

The following circumstance is alone sufficient to show the great scarcity of money at that time, both in Scotland and England, as well as the rusticity, commonly called simplicity, of those days. We

CHARLES VII. OF FRANCE

read in the public acts, that when the kings of Scotland came to the English court, they had thirty shillings a day assigned them for maintenance, twelve loaves, twelve cakes, and thirty bottles of wine.

The bishops had, for a long time, been accustomed never to go abroad without a great number of servants and horses to attend them. A council held at Lateran, in the year 1179, in the pontificate of Pope Alexander III., reproached them, that when they went to visit the monasteries, these latter were frequently obliged to sell all their church-plate to defray the expenses of their reception. The retinue of the archbishops was contracted by the canons of the councils to fifty horses, that of the bishops to thirty, that of the cardinals to twenty-five; for a cardinal, who was not at the same time bishop, and consequently had no church-lands, could not support the pomp of a bishop. This magnificence in the prelates appeared more hateful than it does at present, because there was not then any middle rank between the great and the mean, the rich and the poor. It was only the help of time that formed that middling rank which at present make the riches of a nation.

The dramatic art did not exist in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In Italy they were acquainted with nothing of the kind, but certain simple representations of some particular stories in the Old and New Testaments, and thence the custom of playing mysteries passed into France. These

exhibitions came originally from Constantinople, where they had been introduced by the poet St. Gregory Nazianzen, in opposition to the dramatic pieces of the ancient Greeks and Romans; and as the choruses in the Greek tragedies were religious hymns, and their theatre held a sacred part, Gregory, and his successors, composed sacred tragedies; but unhappily this new theatre had by no means that pre-eminence over the stage of Athens, which the Christian religion had over that of the Gentiles. There are still some remains of these pious farces in strolling theatres, which to this day exhibit the story of the shepherds. On holidays, or other times of religious festivals, they represent the birth and sufferings of our Saviour. These customs were soon adopted by the common people in the northern nations. These subjects have since been treated in a more suitable manner, of which we have instances in those little operas, which are known by the name of oratorios, and the French have exhibited the most masterly productions on their stage, taken from stories in the Old Testament.

The brotherhood of the passion in France, toward the end of the fifteenth century, brought Jesus Christ in person on the stage. Had the French language been then as majestic and pure as it was low and grovelling; if among so many dull and illiterate persons, there had been one man of genius, it is not improbable that the death and sufferings of a just and a righteous person, persecuted by Jewish priests,

and condemned by a Roman prætor, might have furnished matter for a sublime work; but this required an enlightened age, and such an age would not have permitted this kind of representation.

Du Cange, and his continuers, very exact compilers, quote a manuscript upward of five hundred years old, in which is found the following hymn of the ass:

Orientis partibus
Adventavit asinus
Pulcher et fortissimus.

'A young damsel, representing the mother of God, journeying into Egypt, mounted on this ass, and holding a young child in her arms, led the procession; and at the end of the mass, instead of repeating the words, *ita missa est,* the priest began braying as loud as he could stretch his lungs, and the people answered him with the same cry.

This more than savage superstition had nevertheless its origin in Italy. And although, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, some few Italians began to emerge from darkness, yet the populace in general continued plunged in ignorance. They had entertained a notion at Verona, that the ass which carried our Saviour had walked on the sea, and had come through the Gulf of Venice, as far as the banks of the Adige, where Jesus assigned him a certain field for pasturage, in which he lived a long time, and in which he afterward died. The bones of this animal were enclosed within a case, made in

the shape of an ass, which was deposited in the church of Notre Dame des Orgues, or Our Lady of the Organs, under the care of four canons; and these revered relics were carried about three times a year.

This ass of Verona was the making of the house of Our Lady of Loretto. Pope Boniface VIII., seeing that the procession of the ass brought such a concourse of strangers, bethought himself that the Virgin Mary's house must certainly bring still a greater number; and in this he was not deceived. He accordingly gave his apostolic sanction to this fable. And the people who were capable of believing that the ass walked on the sea, from Jerusalem to Verona, were easily persuaded that the Virgin Mary's house might have been transported from Nazareth to Loretto. This little house was encased in a magnificent church, and in a short time, by the pilgrimages of devotees, and the presents of several crowned heads, this temple became as rich as that of Ephesus. The Italians, at least, found their market in the blind superstition of other nations; but at the same time they gave in to this superstition themselves, by following the popular prejudice and the spirit of the times. You may have had many occasions to observe that enthusiasm, to which mankind have a natural propensity, has served to render them not only more stupid, but also more wicked. Pure religion softens the manners by enlightening the understanding; and, on the contrary,

superstition, by blinding the judgment, inspires rage and cruelty.

There was at that time in Normandy, which is called the country of wisdom, an abbot of the cuckolds, who used to traverse through many towns, in a kind of chair drawn by four horses, with a mitre on his head, and a crosier in his hand, dispensing benedictions, and issuing mandates.

There was also a king of the stews established at court by patent. He was originally the chief or judge of a petty guard belonging to the palace, and afterward a court-fool, who used to exact a certain fee from all the pickpockets and night-walkers. There was not a town but what had a society of artificers, burghers, and even of women, among whom the most extravagant ceremonies were stamped with the title of religious mysteries; and hence came the fraternity of freemasons, an institution which has bid defiance to time, the great leveller of all others.

The most contemptible, though at the same time the most numerous of all these fraternities, was that of the flagellants or floggers; it had its first origin in the insolence of some priests who took advantage of the weakness of public penitents, so far as to scourge them. We see the remains of this brutal custom in the wands or switches, which the penitentiaries in Rome carry in their hands on the days of any solemn procession. The monks, at length, came to scourge themselves, on a supposition that nothing

could be more pleasing to God, than the welted back of a brawny friar. In the eleventh century, one Peter Damien persuaded several of the laity to exercise this discipline on themselves stark naked. In 1260 there were several fraternities of pilgrims who came through all Italy armed with rods and disciplines. They at length made the tour of one-half of Europe. This association in time grew up into a sect which it was found necessary to suppress.

In Venice, Genoa, and other republics, though the people had no share in the government, they were never held in slavery. The citizens of Italy were very different from the burghers of the countries of the North; the burghers in Germany and in France were dependent on a lord, a bishop, or the king, and belonged to one man; but the citizens of Italy belonged only to the republic.

THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS.

The parliament did not represent the nation, for to do this, it must be either nominated by the nation or have an inherent right in its own person. The officers of the parliament — the peers excepted — were named by the king, paid by the king, and removable by the king.

The descendants of lawyers are not to this day admitted into the chapters in Germany. It is a relic of ancient barbarism to annex a mark of degradation to one of the most noble functions of humanity, that of the distribution of justice.

It may be said, in answer to this, that it is not the function of distributing justice that is deemed derogatory, since the peers of the realm, and even sovereigns themselves, have executed this function; but that certain men of a low extraction, having been at first introduced into the Parliament of Paris, solely to carry on the causes, and not to give their voices, and having afterward assumed the rights and privileges of nobles, to whom alone it belonged to be the judges of the people, they ought not to be admitted to share those honors which appertain incommunicably to the body of nobles. The famous Fénelon, archbishop of Cambray, in a letter to the French Academy, says, that a person to be qualified to write the history of France, should be well versed in the ancient customs of the nation, and that he should know that the counsellors of parliament were originally serfs or vassals, who had studied the laws of their country, and who assisted the nobles with their advice in the court of parliament. This may be true, in respect to some who raised themselves by their merit; but it is still a greater truth, that the major part of the counsellors were not serfs, but the sons of creditable burghers, who had been a long time enfranchised, and lived as freemen under the king, whose burghers they were. This order of citizens has undoubtedly at all times and in every country, better opportunities of acquiring a knowledge in their profession than persons born in slavery.

This court was, as you know, the same as that which in England is called the court of King's Bench. The English kings, who were vassals to those of France, imitated all the customs of their lords paramount. There was a king's attorney in the Parliament of Paris, and there is one in the court of King's Bench in England. The chancellor of France may preside in the French Parliament; the chancellor of England may do the same in the King's Bench. The king, and the house of lords in England, may set aside the decrees of the court of King's Bench; in like manner the king of France, with his council of state, sets aside the arrets of the parliament; and he likewise might with the high barons and the nobles in the general assembly of the states, which are the parliament of the nation. The court of King's Bench cannot enact laws; neither can the Parliament of Paris. The very word "Bench" shows the great affinity between these courts; the bench of presidents still retains its name with us, and is now called the High or Upper Bench.

We have already remarked that the form of the English government has not changed like ours. The general assembly of the English states has always existed; they have shared in the legislation: whereas ours, by being so rarely convoked, are grown out of use. The courts of justice, which we call parliaments, having become perpetual, and being considerably increased, have insensibly acquired, partly by the concession of the kings, and partly by custom,

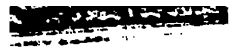
and even the unhappiness of the times, certain privileges which they never enjoyed, either under Philip the Fair, his sons, or Louis XI.

The chief distinction of the Parliament of Paris above the other courts of parliament, arises from the custom which the kings of France introduced, of having all their treaties and edicts registered in the chamber of parliament, during its session, as the most authentic depository; in other respects, this chamber never interfered in any affairs of state or of the revenues. Whatever regarded the regal revenue, or the imposition of taxes, was incontestably the department of the chamber of accounts. The first remonstrance of the parliament, touching the revenue, was in the reign of Francis I.

All things are more subject to change in France than in any other nation. There was an ancient custom, by which no arret, inflicting bodily punishment, could be executed till such arret was first signed by the king. This custom is still in force in England, and many other states; and nothing can be more just and humane. Fanaticism, party fury, and ignorance have condemned many innocent citizens to lose their lives. These citizens belong to the king, that is to say, to the state; but by these practices the country is robbed of a subject, and his family is rendered infamous, without the person, who is the representative of that country, knowing anything of the matter. How many innocent persons have we seen accused of

heresy, witchcraft, and a thousand imaginary crimes, whose lives might have been saved by a king of knowledge and understanding!

But Charles VI. was so far from being such a person, that he was in that deplorable situation which makes a man the sport of his fellow creatures.



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